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(*c*) *In hunting*, deities other than the king's ancestors were invoked, especially *Hūvī*, the hunters' god, and *Kuanja*, a goddess, both of which had their own shrines and priests. These may have been connected with the country or with its earlier inhabitants (the kings being recognized as late comers). At the inaugural hunt the offices were assigned. The king's character was supposedly revealed by the sex of the animal killed at this hunt: 'If the duiker[1] is a female, then it is good indeed, but if a male, then the king is a real person but he habitually will become angry to excess' (*Nda ombambi yaco omange ciwa muēlē, puaī nda ulume, Soma omunu puaī o tema tema enene*).

2. *To represent the nation in its external relations*, i.e. (*a*) *To make agreements with other kings to promote trade*, and (*b*) *To make war on other peoples* in order to provide his court with tribute and his warriors with plunder. The war leader (*Kesongo*) had his own residence and establishment entirely separate from that of the king, whom he must not meet face to face except on certain state occasions. In Bailundu he, with certain other officials, was of the stock of the slaves of the state (*ovinduli viosoma*) who came from Luandu in the Songo country. Each king must inaugurate his reign with a war, during or after which he must ceremonially 'eat the old one' (*oku lia ekongo*)—a feast consisting of the flesh of a specially fattened slave cooked with the flesh of the principal animals commonly eaten.

3. *To dispense justice*. In point of time consumed, this question was very important, for it occupied much of the time of both rulers and ruled. Good evidence of this is in the number of proverbs used at court, second only in number to those used for the education of the young. The king's court (*olusenje*) was the supreme court of the nation where cases were continually heard and 'fines eaten' (*oku lia ovimbu*). Cases might be settled either by ordeal or by decision of the king, and there was therefore room for appeal and re-trial. The king's word, however, was final, as the proverb has it: *O popia onganji, o mālāpo osoma.* (The advocate speaks, the king finishes [decides].) The king was not generally arbitrary in his decisions but was bound not only by the customs of his people, but also by the desires of his councillors. Among the legitimate kings of the Ovimbundu there were comparatively few of the revolting and wholesale punishments which were so

[1] The duiker, *ombambi* (*Silvicapra grimmii leucoprosopus*).

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teachers who have themselves had traditional training and have maintained their own kinship ties, then we can work out with them sound social methods.

Language teaching is of great importance in the field under consideration. The mission schools have produced remarkable results in their teaching of the Portuguese language, results probably unequalled by schools similarly situated and conditioned elsewhere. Regulations prohibiting the vernacular except in religious instruction, and requiring the use of Portuguese in all schools from the start,[1] have created great difficulties. No responsible person in touch with the situation questions the utility of teaching the language of the European colonial power, but the educational soundness of attempting to use, as a medium from the start, a language which is not used in the home is open to serious question. It is obvious that such a policy must seriously curtail the effectiveness of the school. The vernacular is still allowed for 'religious instruction' but beyond this, almost nothing but instruction in the Portuguese language can be accomplished. This policy compartmentalizes the school work to an unfortunate degree and places such emphasis on the mere acquiring of a language that the whole programme is warped. It is even inefficient as regards the teaching of the language itself, for pupils who have first had systematic instruction in their mother tongue are by that fact better equipped to acquire a European language.[2]

The French colonial authorities, who first applied language regulations of this sort in Africa, have come to realize the necessity for some modifications in practice. Gouverneur-Général Brévié, of Afrique Occidentale Française, in December 1931 stated:

> . . . In order that this system of education may produce the best results immediately, we must not hesitate to have recourse to the local

[1] Enforced since 1922 under the provisions of Decree 77 of 9 Dec., 1921 (*Boletim Oficial* No. 50, 1921). The text with an English translation may be found in *Treaties, Acts, and Regulations relating to Missionary Freedom* (London: International Missionary Council, 1923). A law of April 1938 lays down still more difficult regulations regarding the teaching of Portuguese and includes certain provisions which frankly discriminate between Protestant and Roman Catholic mission schools.

[2] 'in Achimota (Gold Coast) . . . by means of convincing tests it has been established that a child educated in his mother tongue in one year obtains a knowledge of English which otherwise would take him six years to acquire' (Gouverneur-Général Olivier, *Six Ans de Politique Sociale à Madagascar*, chap. v, quoted by Paul Crouzet in the *Educational Yearbook 1931*, p. 472).

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seem to bear the stamp of truth in contrast to the evident fabrications of some and the well-meaning confusion of others.

'Jagas' are next reported during the conquest of Benguela[1] in 1617–22 by Manuel Cerveira Pereira. The second and fifth of the five battles described in a contemporary document[2] were with 'Jagas', the latter of which had been an ally of the Portuguese for a time. About this time 'Jagas' were also commonly reported as allies of the Portuguese forces in the conquest of Ndongo and Matamba. References to this state of affairs could be given from many sources, but more significant is the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the conquistadores, who, in a petition to King Philip, dated 16 January 1620, inserted the following:

> that the *Jagas* who aid us and are ferocious, who are with us, who are of great effect to overawe the heathen that they may not rise, that Your Majesty should make them a favour of wine, for they desire nothing else, to send them three hogsheads a year at the three principal feasts, for it is necessary to have them for friends, and the said *jagas*, Your Majesty ordering to give them this, they will always give in slaves[3] the value and much more.[4]

Another of the conquistadores also wrote:

> The Iacas are stranger folk and who live by robbery and war.
>
> This people came many years ago to these kingdoms and have overrun all the hinterland even to Mozambique. . . .
>
> From them came some to our protection and service, fleeing from their captains. . . .
>
> These people themselves are cruel and great thieves, and were more so after we made use of them: they go about robbing unjustly [*sic*] and captivating the miserable heathen; but, however, the fault is not of the *iaca*, but rather of the governors and captains who command them, and so they should be kept for friends and used well, during the necessary time.[5]

Other contemporary writers could be cited,[6] but enough evidence

[1] The present city of Benguela and its surroundings.

[2] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1617–22, *Benguella e seu sertão por um Anonymo*, pp. 10, 13; J. J. Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, pt. ii, pp. 30 ff.

[3] Lit. 'pieces', a somewhat deprecatory euphemism used in the old Portuguese works.

[4] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 16 f.

[5] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1593–1631, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 16 f.

[6] Compare Cavazzi, op. cit., pp. 630 ff.; Duarte Lopes, op. cit., p. 156 f.; Dapper; *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 357 f.

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him off where he would have the double benefit of regular work and Christian doctrine. In 1560 the Bishop of São Thomé wrote that 'he doubted that the people of the kingdom of Angola could be made Catholics unless the King would allow Trade'.[1] The slaves were baptized by the bishop by the boatload—rowed along the wharf of Luanda. The Jesuits profited greatly by the slave-trade, employing continuously three of their own ships. The religious motive was thus early swallowed up by the commercial and profit motive. Commerce was almost entirely taken up with the slave-trade. Four-fifths of the value of all exports were slaves.[2]

During the first hundred years of the Colony of Angola a million slaves were exported,[3] and three million would probably be a very conservative estimate of the total. As long as the over-sea slave traffic remained legal, little effort seems to have been made to develop other exports. In spite of protests and until 1832, ivory remained a monopoly of the royal treasury with regulations which discouraged its export. Such products as gum copal and orchilia only began to be exported in 1832–8. The only product of any importance which had also been exported in the time of the slave-trade was bees-wax. The slave-trade was first questioned in 1831, it was formally prohibited in 1836, but for many years enforcement was not accomplished. During the 250 years of the oversea slave-trade, Angola was in reality a dependency of Brazil.[4] When Brazil became independent, there was a movement in Benguela for union with that country.[5] So complete was the commercial domination of Brazil that Lisbon merchants had hardly anything to do with the Angolan trade. Lopes de Lima points out that the colony was also spiritually dominated by Brazil, and attributes the noteworthy religious decadence not only to the preoccupation of the clergy with the slave-trade, but also to the fact that from 1677 until 1845 the diocese of Angola and Congo was a part of the Metropolitan archdiocese of Bahia. The one great fact with regard to Angola of the sixteenth, seventeenth,

[1] It had been a royal monopoly and allowed only through Kongo. This letter is from the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo and quoted by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, p. ix.

[2] Statistics given by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 69 f.

[3] Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* (1680–1), vol. iii, p. 254 (also quoted by Paiva Manso).

[4] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 74; J. P. Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colónias Portuguezas*, p. 18.

[5] Lopes de Lima, op. cit., p. 127.

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eighteenth, and much of the nineteenth century, then, was the slave-trade.

Most of the historical treatises on Angola are little more than chronological lists of battles and expeditions. The relation of these events to the main facts, i.e. to the economic facts, has rarely been made. Two or three presídios were founded with the hope of controlling nearby mineral deposits,[1] whether real or supposed, but all the rest were intended as spearheads for trade or to protect existing trade. Many of the military expeditions were raids with an obvious end in view; others were rearguard actions to protect a more or less successful raid of the same sort; others were retaliations for reprisals or vice versa. Practically all of the soldiers who were free men, from the captain-general down, were also traders, and some who were not free were traders on account of others. There may have been a few expeditions which had less immediate connexion with trade, for there were genuine explorers in those early days, even as more recently.

There would be little interest or profit in cataloguing the military expeditions which had, or seem to have had, contact with the Ovimbundu or with their predecessors in the land during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were only a very few of real significance. During the seventeenth century many raids were made from Massangano across Libolo to the edge of or into the Benguela Highland, and likewise there were many actions between the garrisons of Benguela and Caconda and the inhabitants of the plateau. In 1607 Balthazar Rebello de Aragão set out to cross Africa and had to turn back after going eighty leagues, but his own report was so scanty that even the direction he took cannot be determined.[2] In 1645, while the Dutch controlled Luanda and the coast, there was a raid which was said to have reached Bailundu.[3] The very scanty references to this raid give no description of the inhabitants, but since there seems to be no Bailundu tradition with regard to it, I conclude that the present dynasty (beyond the establishment of which tradition hardly goes) must have been founded since that date. About 1650 there was a raid across Libolo as far as the Keve River which found a cattle-rearing

[1] e.g. Benguela Velha and Cambambe.

[2] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1593–1620, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Araydo*, p. 15.

[3] *Catálogo dos Governadores*, p. 374; Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 99.

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people living there,[1] which also leads me to conclude that the Ovimbundu as we now know them were not there at that date.

About 1661 there was an expedition from Benguela in order to restore a native ally, the 'Iaga Caconda', against an 'intruding Iaga' who used fire-arms.[2] This is the first record of fire-arms in native hands in the hinterland of Benguela. Muskets and powder were sold from the time of Luanda's founding (1576),[3] but not all tribes took to them quickly.[4] If fire-arms were already in use by natives in the Benguela hinterland in 1661, it is most probable that the founders of the present Umbundu dynasties had them when they came to the country. The first presídio of Caconda was built in 1680, destroyed soon after, and rebuilt nearby in 1685. This was at four or five days' journey from Benguela but not on the Plateau nor within the present Umbundu area. The third presídio, known as Caconda-Nova, was built at its present site in 1769. Most writers have supposed this fort to have been built at its present site in 1685, overlooking the fact that there were not two sites but three.[5]

European Influences 1770–1840. The governor who effected the final moving of Caconda on to the Plateau, D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho, also undertook many other reforms designed to better the economic state of the colony. He brought something of the intentions of the great Marquez de Pombal to this remote tropical dependency. He seems to have been the first governor of Angola to realize the immense superiority of the Benguela Highland,

[1] Cadornega, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 42–6.

[2] Cadornega, op. cit., p. 176 f. It is of interest that according to this author (1680) this expedition passed the Bay then known as 'Catumbella of Salt Water' or 'Catumbella of the Oysters'. Jaspert made the error of stating that this Bay (Lobito) was 'discovered by the English' about 1900!

[3] Garcia Mendes Castello Branco (1620) protested against allowing this traffic (*Da Mina ao Cabo Negro*, p. 25).

[4] In 1790 the Ovimbundu used fire-arms very well, but the 'Ganguellas' had not then adopted their use (*Annaes Mar. e Col., 5a Ser.*, p. 489).

[5] Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*) made this error (or omission), and more recent writers have perhaps erred by following him. The correct accounts are given in the *Catálogo dos Governadores*, pp. 396 ff., 416 ff. (also to be found in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. iii, pp. 507 f., 528). The facts are most clearly brought out by the governor of the District of Benguela in reporting a visit made to Caconda. He gives a short history of the presídio and tells of having seen the ruins of the earlier forts (*Districto de Benguella 1892*, Lisboa, 1894). The report to the Ministry in Lisbon of the governor, D. Francisco Innocencio de Souza Coutinho, explaining (among other things) the moving of this presídio, and dated 18 Oct. 1769, has been published in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 1 (Oct. 1933).

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from the point of view of climate, situation, and resources, over the rest of the West African lands with which the Portuguese had relations. He stated in his report[1] that until that time most of the Europeans who entered the Highland were escaped convicts or deserters. He attempted to provide for a more orderly commercial development in these regions not only by building the forts of Caconda-Nova and Novo Redondo,[2] but also by bringing the traders of the interior together at determined places where they could have judges appointed from among themselves, and even parish priests.[3] If the office of 'captain-major and exterior judge'[4] did not originate at this time, at least it was Souza Coutinho who revived it in his appointments and made it a useful instrument for the commercial penetration of the Benguela Highland and of the regions beyond.

Among the regions for which he created such an office was 'Gallangue grande'[5] (Ngalangi). This captaincy-major and the parish of 'S. João Nepomuceno de Gallangue' are mentioned subsequently but only to note the vacancy of both posts. Souza Coutinho was remembered for his many accomplishments, and for his realistic attitudes. He recognized that the law of 1620 prohibiting the entry of traders into the hinterlands[6] was largely a dead letter, and that in so far as it was observed, it only favoured the

[1] Dated 18 Oct. 1769, loc. cit.

[2] 'The chief reason for building the latter was to put an end to the contraband trade of the English (see reports of the same governor of 12 Jan. and of 16 May 1769 in op. cit., vol. i, nos. 5 and 6 (Mar. 1936).

[3] Order of 23 Sept. 1760, and report of 12 Jan. 1769 in ibid.; report of 18 Oct. 1769; also *Catálogo dos Governadores*, p. 416 f. (*Arquivos de Angola*, vol. iii, p. 528).

[4] The *capitão mor e juiz de fora* was appointed to represent the government in a region not subject to it nor within the range of military occupation. His chief duty was to keep the peace among the Portuguese subjects of his jurisdiction and to attend to legal and orderly inheritance of their goods when they died. He also was supposed to secure for them as much extra-territorial treatment as the native kings and courts would concede. Compare explanation by Francisco de Salles Fereira in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1846, p. 118. Long lists of these appointments for the various regions of the interior, together with many contemporary documents, are given by Ralph Delgado, *Ao Sul do Cuanza*.

[5] He gave it the name 'Linhares' after a Portuguese town, but neither this name nor that of 'Contins' for Caconda was kept.

[6] The purpose of this law was not, as Livingstone supposed (*Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 369), directly humanitarian, but more especially to preserve the trade for residents of the towns and to avoid the necessity for punitive expeditions which the traders' presence in the hinterland had so often motivated.

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foreign buccaneers and other contraband trade in the unoccupied ports of the Congo, Loango, &c. He therefore removed the prohibition[1] and counted on the appointment of captains-major to keep the peace. From this time the hinterlands were legally open to traders—to all Portuguese subjects whether white, black, or brown.

Though the hinterlands were now legally open to all traders, life was not thereby made any easier for them than it had been previously for the 'barefoot traders'[2] who had carried on most of the trade hitherto. Once they went beyond the range of the guns of a presídio, they entered what were practically foreign countries which recognized no European principles of law or of conduct. Those who could afford it built themselves small fortresses and manned them with their slaves. Even so, they had to become vassals and feudatories of some native king and pay tribute according to his good pleasure. Those traders who could not afford such an establishment led a very precarious existence, nor could they long maintain a status above that of the natives of the region. Many of these early traders and their descendants were subsequently incorporated into the Umbundu stock, and in some instances whole communities of them.[3] For one reason or another this increased commercial contact led to further wars with the natives. The war of this period which made the greatest impression upon the Ovimbundu was the campaign of 1774–6, to which allusion has already been made.[4] Memories of this war and of the capture of their respective kings have been preserved in the traditions of Bailundu and of Ndulu,[5] and it also seems that these two peoples learned, for a time at least, that it was safer and more profitable to trade with the Europeans than to raid their establishments. Ciyaka and the neighbouring groups do not seem to have followed suit, for they continued to raid the forts of Caconda, Quilengues, and Huila until fairly recent times; nor do Europeans seem to have penetrated Ciyaka for residence until almost the turn of the present century. But in all the Umbundu kingdoms life

[1] Report of 9 May 1765 in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, nos. 5 and 6.

[2] i.e. native African trading agents.

[3] I have genealogical tables and family histories of some of the present-day descendants. The mixed origin of communities in Kakonda has been noted by several writers. A noteworthy example in Viye is the region called Kamundongo—an old Ndongo (Angola) settlement.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 166, 171, 174.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 170, 171.

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175x 726 648 648 439 175

continued to be difficult for the traders, subject as they were to the conditions of primitive custom and belief.[1]

About the time of the above-mentioned military campaign, events took a turn which in the end greatly advanced commercial life in Viye. I refer to the restoration of Kangombe to his 'stool' with the help of the governor, Dom Antonio de Lancastre.[2] This alliance with the Portuguese government was maintained by Kangombe's successors until 1890. In 1782, and perhaps even in 1770, there were so many Portuguese residents that a 'Captain-major and exterior judge of Bihe' was appointed,[3] a post which seems to have been maintained until Silva Porto's suicide in 1890.

Reference has already been made to an account by Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, who evidently lived in Ngalangi and in Wambu about 1790,[4] but although this man wrote a good deal about native life, he had little to say about trade, although it was perhaps his own livelihood. I have accounts of two trading expeditions from Benguela to the country of 'Lovar' or 'Lovale' at the head-waters of the Zambezi in 1794 and 1795, undertaken by Alexandre de Silva Teixeira and Jozé da Silva Costa at the instigation of a slave originally from that region.[5] They passed through Bailundu and Viye, but mentioned these regions only to say that the road was already well known to all backwoodsmen (traders). All available evidence seems to indicate that before the close of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, if they had not already become, traders. If trade had not yet taken first place over raiding and warfare, at least it was well-established in their habits of life. Bailundu tradition says that the first traders to offer cloth and beads and fire-arms for slaves and ivory were the Ndongo, the 'barefoot traders' (*pombeiros descalços*). This was doubtless during the very early days of the eighteenth century, or

[487]

[1] Silva Porto's diaries, although referring to a later time, give a good description of difficulties faced (op. cit.). *Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*

[2] Governor and captain-general, 1772–9. He was the immediate successor of D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho.

[3] For this appointment, which may not have been the first, and the duties of the office, see *Annaes Mar. e Col., 6a Ser.*, p. 118. I have the names of subsequent appointees, and for four of them the following dates of appointment, respectively—1791, 1819, 1838, 1885; also of one previous appointee in 1770 or 1771.

[4] *Supra*, p. 188.

[5] *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 4 (Nov. 1935); *Annaes Mar. e Col., 4a Ser.* (1844), p. 159 f.

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even earlier. Long before that the forerunners of the Ovimbundu kings, the 'Jagas', had sold their prisoners to the *pombeiros*. The other side of the national lineage had probably bought salt from Cisama[1] even before the white men came to the land.

Dominant Tendencies 1840–74. The next period in which there was great commercial development among the Ovimbundu began with the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, following upon the abolition of the monopoly in ivory and the development of new products as substitutes for the slave-trade, formally prohibited in 1836. This period saw a considerable increase in the number of traders resident in the region. The new régime at the coast may have caused some to go inland.[2] In Bailundu, and especially in Viye, they were well received by kings and by people who saw in the coming of more Europeans to live among them increased commercial opportunities.[3] For various reasons most of these traders established themselves in Viye,[4] and from this time Viye took first place in trade with the interior and with the coast. But since the caravan road to Benguela must pass either through

[1] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part ii, p. 55.

[2] Some statistics on these older periods are available, but since they are themselves in disagreement and none of them seem to be very reliable I do not include them here. The Report of the Governor of Benguela for 1799 gives the rather optimistic figure of 78 *whites* (including 5 women) resident in the several interior districts (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 161), with correspondingly larger numbers for persons of mixed race and (civilized) blacks. In 1838, according to Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 4 f.), the number of *whites* in the same districts was only 14, with no women, and the number of 'brown inhabitants' correspondingly small except in Caconda, for which he gives the number of 2,992—more than in all the rest of the colony! J. R. Graça gave a list of 101 names of inhabitants of Viye alone, 'Portuguese or descendants of Portuguese . . . including 6 *Europeans*'. This was probably near the truth for 1846. Magyar (1849–57) gave very interesting calculations of the population and area of the several Umbundu kingdoms, but no figures on European residents.

[3] A very interesting glimpse of Bailundu in 1837 was given by a political exile, Carlos de Almeida Sandoval (*Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 519 f.). Very full accounts of life in Viye have been given by Silva Porto, who first reached Viye in 1840, coming from Luanda (see some of his diaries in *Annaes do Cons. Ultr.*, Ser. I; *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, Ser. 5, 6. A small volume of excerpts from Silva Porto's diaries was published in 1942 by the Agência Geral das Colónias under the title *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África.*)

[4] The early continuous connexion of the dynasty with the Luanda government has been mentioned, as also the continuous appointment of a *capitão mor*. The incumbent at the time (appointed 1838) was Francisco José Coimbra, of mixed race from Caconda (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1846, p. 118; *Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 112 f.). Both Cameron and the early missionaries mention dealings with his sons. Some of his grandsons and great-grandsons, now reincorporated with the Ovimbundu, still tell of their descent.

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this trail along the face of the cliffs behind Catumbela may still be seen to-day.

I have noted how largely Brazil had absorbed the commerce of the colony. This was due in large part, of course, to the slave-trade, but it was also due to the fact that all foreign, i.e. non-Portuguese, ships were prohibited from having any part in the colony's trade, or even from entering its ports. This was an effort to keep all colonial trade for the motherland, and was quite in line with early colonial theory and practice. In this instance it served to enrich Brazil at the expense not only of Angola but also of Portugal itself, and it is rather strange that this ruinous policy should have persisted even after the separation of Brazil. In 1844 the two ports of Luanda and Benguela were opened to ships of all the world. Lopes de Lima remarks[1] that not only did foreign commerce flow in, but Portuguese commerce with the colony also increased greatly. It must not be supposed that Angola at once became a great example of Free Trade, for customs duties remained high. Only the first bars in the fence of monopoly were let down, but for that day it was a great step and it attracted trade.

In 1869 the first experimental export of raw rubber was made: a very small beginning of a very important movement.[2] The imminent importance of this export was not realized by 'the man on the spot'. In 1870 Silva Porto, tired of accusations of witch-craft by his Ovimbundu neighbours and of the increasing demands

a very truthful and realistic picture of conditions, of events, and of trends, errs in supposing that it was only with the opening of this 'new road' by Silva Porto that caravans from the interior began to come to Catumbela. Magyar, who went inland from Benguela in 1849, took the usual road via Catumbela. Even in 1795, when there was no town at Catumbela, but only a few vegetable farms, Teixeira and Mello started for the interior from there (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 159). Their itinerary in detail from Catumbela to Viye is not given, but only distances to Cisanji, to Civula, to Bailundu, and to Viye. Since their route was via Civula and Bailundu, rather than via Ciyaka and Wambu (Huambo), and therefore the route of Silva Porto's 'new' road, I am inclined to believe that the latter was probably a return to a route formerly used. Magyar gives a good description of the route via Ciyaka. The route via Bailundu has been described by scores of writers from Silva Porto through Cameron, the early missionaries (of the A.B.C.F.M.), Nevinson, *et al.*, down to 1910, when the road was abandoned for the Benguela Railway. There are now three motor roads from the Highland to the coast, but none of them follows the old slavers' route except in certain short sections.

[1] *Ensaios*, part i, pp. 78, 135.

[2] Easton, op. cit., p. 24; *Boletim Official*, 1870 (Exports for 1869); *Benguella, Relatório do Districto de*, 1891, p. 29.

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1853–4, crossed Africa from Benguela to the mouth of the Rovuma.[1]

Nor was this the only transcontinental journey effected by Ovimbundu traders.[2] Such long-distance expeditions were not always the most profitable, and certainly the relatively shorter journeys of the time of the rubber trade must have been much more lucrative. Indeed, the judgement of Magyar was that the Ovimbundu generally got more enjoyment and excitement than monetary gain from their expeditions.[3]

Mention has been made that the several Umbundu kingdoms fell in line with the trading activities of Bailundu and Viye. By the beginning of the period of great activity this had eventuated in a loose system of alliances or mutual understandings to the effect that the traders and caravans of each would be tolerated in, and allowed passage through, the territory of the other. At times their 'trade-agreements' seem to have embraced all the Umbundu-speaking peoples, but violations were frequent,[4] and complaints of violations seem to have been almost the regular state of affairs as between Viye and the Ciyaka-Cingolo-Citata group. There also developed regional industrial and commercial specializations. In Magyar's time there was a great metal industry at Ekovongo, the capital of Viye, making hoes for trade with the interior,[5] but by 1875 this work seems to have ceased,[6] for although hoes were still

[1] Cakahanga kept a diary which was edited by Silva Porto and published under the title 'Third Voyage' in the *Boletim Official* of Angola, 1856–7, and later in the *Annaes do Cons. Ultr. Ia Ser.* A summary of this diary appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* of London, 1860, pp. 136–49, but the translator and editor mistakenly believed that Silva Porto had himself crossed Africa, and added to the confusion by calling the Ovimbundu 'Arabs from Zanzibar'. Silva Porto himself only went as far as Naliele, and it seems that there were 'Arabs' or Swahili in the party, but how far they accompanied it is not clear. That the diary was kept by Cakahanga is evident, for the 'Arabs' could write no language known to Silva Porto.

[2] See Magyar, op. cit., p. 297.

[3] Ibid., p. 299. This referred only to Magyar's time, 1849–57, but I feel it to be a judgement capable of wider extension. Serpa Pinto says that in 1878 he met many who 'turned over capital of a thousand to twelve hundred pounds sterling and some even more; one indeed . . . arrived during my sojourn . . . from the interior where he had traded on his own account to the extent of . . . about £3,500!' (op. cit., p. 161 f.). However, there were also losses and often, so that Magyar's dictum is worth remembering.

[4] e.g. see account of dispute between Ekulkui (Bailundu) and Njambayamina (Viye) in *Missionary Herald*, 1886, pp. 218 f., 432, 508; 1887, p. 463.

[5] L. Magyar, op. cit., p. 297.

[6] See negative testimony of Cameron, of Serpa Pinto, and of early missionaries.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

made, there as elsewhere throughout the Umbundu-speaking territory, their wholesale manufacture was only carried on in Ndulu. This was a natural specialization, for the best and most easily accessible deposits of iron ore are in the Ndulu country,[1] whose smiths have become justly famous. In exchange for hoes they received palm-oil or cattle from other regions, or salt, rum, or goods from the coast. Other regional specializations were—Kasongi and the Sele country for palm-oil, Cikuma for bees-wax (also obtained from the interior), cattle from Ngalangi, Kalukembe, Cilengi, and farther south. Ciyaka, Civula, and Bailundu took much corn-meal to the coast in those early days. 'Trade-agreements' were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area. At first these were strictly one-way affairs, allowing the Ovimbundu traders to operate in many lands, near and far, since this was to the advantage of the rulers of those lands. At the same time, the men from Bailundu and Viye did and said everything possible to discourage the interior peoples from venturing out on their own account.[2] Later, when the trade, as well as knowledge of the whites and their trade, spread, arrangements were made between the king of Viye and various interior chiefs allowing them to send their own caravans through to the coast, and gifts were exchanged periodically.[3]

Their very early introduction to articles of European use and manufacture has undoubtedly had great influence upon the development of the Ovimbundu. Their early and thorough familiarity with fire-arms certainly played a decisive role in their national formation and subsequent history. The introduction of domestic plants and animals from abroad is an important subject, but too broad for treatment at this time. The early introduction of European-manufactured goods has had profound influences.

[1] See article on smelting and smithing in Ndulu by F. W. Read in *Journal of the African Society*, 1902, pp. 44–9.

[2] Livingstone tells of the displeasure of the Ovimbundu ('Mambari') at meeting the Makololo near Luanda. The Ovimbundu tried to frighten them from trading with the whites with tall tales, making the whites out as impossibly clever magicians and wizards (op. cit., p. 384). Cameron and his east-coast carriers experienced the displeasure of Viye people owing to jealousy of the same sort, but no longer so openly expressed (op. cit., p. 406).

[3] The Musta-Yanvo of Lunda was one of those who had such a 'trade-agreement' with Viye. Silva Porto notes in his diary on 14 Jan. 1880 that an embassy from the Musta-Yanvo had arrived with a tusk of ivory for Cilemo (*Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 32 *Ser.*, p. 148).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

643 173 [185] [648] ✕ 175 648 726

times, which is a sure sign of his greatness in Umbundu estimation. Ekuikui's reign marked the end of an era and the beginning of another, not only for the people of Bailundu, but for all the Ovimbundu. The rubber trade had begun just before he came to the stool and his reign saw its intensive development. Tradition is probably right in placing the beginning of intensive agricultural pursuits during Ekuikui's time, for the great development of trade, need for rations for the long journeys, and a market for foodstuffs at the coast provided the necessary stimulus to cultivate beyond immediate seasonal need. Ekuikui carried on the tradition of warfare[1] which was so large a part of his ancestral heritage, but he had the good sense to attempt no large-scale operations either against his relatively powerful Ovimbundu confrères, or against European establishments. There was plenty of provocation[2] and no lack of warlike counsel, but he probably realized that the tenor of the times was against such operations. Had his contemporaries of Viye and his own successors been possessed of equal good sense, the Ovimbundu might have been saved some very difficult times and not a little bloodshed. The military occupation of Viye came about in 1890, after a disastrous war brought on by foolishly high-handed treatment on the part of King Ndunduma[3] and his counsellors of a little expedition bound for the interior under Captain Paiva Couceiro, and of Silva Porto,[4] resulting in the suicide of the latter. The ruler and people of Viye relied on a largely magical defence against Boer sharpshooters and Portuguese field artillery with Krupp guns. When finally Ndunduma came in and gave himself up[5] he was exiled to São Tiago in the Cape Verde Islands,

[1] For King Ekuikui's wars see *Missionary Herald*, 1882, p. 225; 1883, p. 339; 1884, pp. 145 f., 504; 1885, pp. 279, 355, 375; 1889, p. 67; 1890, p. 292.

[2] See op. cit., 1886, pp. 228 f., 452, 508.

[3] *Ndunduma* (Thunderer) was the name assumed by Cikunyu when he took office after a *coup d'état* in 1888 (see *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 242 f.).

[4] Antonio Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto, appointed 'Captain-major and exterior judge' of Bihe in 1885. He had authority only over the European residents, but he knew the country and people well and had tried to bring about a peaceful occupation of the country; neither the Government in Benguela nor the native authorities, however, would take his advice. His suicide brought the importance of the Umbundu country to the fore, and he became a Portuguese national hero.

[5] It was the Rev. W. H. Sanders, in charge of Kamundongo Mission Station, who sought Ndunduma and got him to surrender in order to avoid further slaughter. For a report of this 'war' see *Relatorio do Districto de Benguella*, 1891, pp. 12–14; also *Missionary Herald*, 1891, pp. 47, 63 f., 88, 108 f.; Dr. J. Johnston, *Romance versus Reality in South Central Africa*, pp. 59–63. F. S. Arnot (*Bihe*

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and the country settled down to the rule of 'the Fort' with Ndunduma's successor named by the captain-major. The occupation of Bailundu was effected at that same time,[1] while Ekuikui yet ruled, but for several years only a nominal force was employed.[2] In 1896 Ekuikui's successor, Numa II, attacked the fort, and the captain-major burned the *ombala*[3] in retaliation. From 1890 European traders settled in both Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers.[4] Then came the 'Bailundu War' of 1902,[5] after which the occupation of the whole Umbundu country was quickly completed.

The operations of 1890 had only interrupted the ivory trade. The campaign of 1902 completely paralysed trade in and with the interior, and greatly aggravated a depression which the District of Benguela was feeling because of a fall from the high prices which rubber had enjoyed in 1898–9.[6] After the war it seemed that trade would soon regain its former levels, and the export statistics show that for a time it did so, but closer inspection and a consideration of other factors which entered into the situation show that this was the beginning of the end. The price of rubber never regained its former level, so that the high value of exports reported represents an even larger quantity than before. The increased quantity largely represented a greatly debased product, for the native traders and producers understood nothing

and Garrganze, pp. 19–23) also wrote of these incidents but with more of the personal element and perhaps less accuracy.

[1] *Relatorio, Benguella*, 1892, p. 13 f.

[2] In 1892 there were 2 soldiers in Bailundu, 135 in Viye, 21 in Caconda (*Benguella*, op. cit., 1891, p. 15). Bailundu tradition says that (native) soldiers were first brought in disguised as porters with loads of goods.

[3] *Ombala*, capital village.

[4] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 36, 43.

[5] This war was named in Umbundu after the Bailundu war leader, *Mutu ya Kevela*. He is named among the kings, but it was only during the war that he assumed power. The immediate causes were excesses on the part of European residents against the natives, especially in connexion with 'the recruiting of contract labour'. The best work on the subject is in the nature of a report written by the man who was then governor, Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundo* (Luanda 1903). General ideas may be had from *Missionary Herald*, 1902, pp. 353, 400, 452 f., 520 f.; 1903, pp. 22 f., 69 f., 122, 211 f.; H. W. Nevinson, op. cit., p. 157 f.; and J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 122 f. The account given by Keiling (*Quarenta Annos de Africa*) is of interest for certain details of this war, but its statements are inaccurate and its judgements unreliable. The missionaries sought to dissuade the natives from taking up arms, and once the fighting had begun they provided medical services for both sides and sent food-supplies to the garrison of the beleaguered Portuguese fort.

[6] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 39 f.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

It must not be supposed that trade has been abandoned. Every sale or exchange of field or garden produce is a serious trading operation. Produce will often be carried a very long way for a very small advantage, or even for no apparent gain. The successively lower economic levels to which the colony, and especially the natives, have fallen since the close of the rubber trade is a factor. Individual trading, involving journeys into even such distant regions as Cvamboland, is a latter-day development since European rule has made for greater personal security.

Another factor which operated to end all large-scale trading operations of the Ovimbundu was the disappearance of the traffic in human beings. It has been shown that even before they ruled over the Ovimbundu the 'Jagas' were leading intermediaries in this traffic, and the Ovimbundu have continued in this rcle right down to the period under review. Whatever name or form it bore at the coast, in the interior the traffic was the same. At the height of the rubber boom this traffic, along with other activities, suffered a decline, being somewhat less profitable than rubber. At that time came the peak of the rum trade and the demoralization which it brought turned the point of the 'contract labour' traffic in upon the Ovimbundu themselves. Such Umbundu customs as getting into debt, the pawning of relatives, and also such factors as times of food scarcity, quickly taken advantage of by the traders, served to exacerbate the hardships, and the result was the native uprising of 1902 known as the 'Bailundu Campaign', but extending beyond the limits of Bailundu. The effects of this uprising upon trade have already been noted. Pending investigation of its causes, the export of 'contract labourers' was stopped,[1] but the practice was soon resumed. The scandalous conditions then obtaining in the neighbouring 'Congo Free State' almost from its founding until 1908 greatly aided and abetted the slave-traffic, however much this new frontier may have interfered with trade in ivory and rubber. Trade with the *revoltés* was particularly lucrative to Ovimbundu and other traders of Angola. Powder and arms were an especially important item in this trade.

and just under the rim of the Highland. In 1916 construction stopped at Chinguar (312 miles and on the edge of Viye) until after World War I. It was completed to the Angola frontier in 1929 and the Belgian section finished in 1931, with transcontinental connexion at Elizabethville.

[1] Cabral Moncada, op. cit.; Massano de Amorim, *Relatorio sôbre os acontecimentos do Bailundo* (Loanda, 1903); *Missionary Herald*, 1903, p. 69.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

It was only with the beginning of World War I that trade in powder and fire-arms was stopped. For more than a century Portuguese patriots and thinkers had been insisting upon the necessity for ending the export of man-power, so evidently impoverishing in its effects on the life of the colony.[1] Law succeeded law, and regulation followed regulation, but there was little real change.[2] With the Republic,[3] however, real changes began. Conditions were investigated,[4] and although complete and immediate reform could hardly have been expected, changes did begin. Provisions for manumission upon presentation to authority were made and carried out. Repatriation from island and mainland plantations began to be undertaken. This was the origin of small communities of Cokue and other 'Ngangela' people now living at various points in the Umbundu country. From the plantations they were repatriated to 'their places of origin', which were, however, not their own homes but the places whence they had been sold into servitude. Under various regulatory practices, contract labour has been continued down to the present day. The depression which came to Central Africa in 1930 reduced the demand to a minimum, and for a few years it did not represent a serious problem in the life of the Ovimbundu. There was a time of great activity in road building (approximately 1915–32) when the demands for labour were a serious problem to Umbundu life. Soon after the opening of World War II a strong demand for colonial products revived the industries of Angola and stimulated the creation of new ones. The consequent demand for labour and the means used to supply it have come to constitute the most severe trial which has yet come to the Ovimbundu. Their docility has made this service bear more hardly on them than on some other people of the colony. Their

[1] e.g. Saldanha da Gama, *Memoria*, 1814; Sá da Bandeira, 1839; Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios* (1846), 3 p. xxxviii, 6 f., 44 f.; Casmiro, *Africa Nostra*, p. 60 f.

[2] The principal laws were promulgated as follows: 1836 (Formal abolition of the traffic); 1839 (Authorizing co-operation with the international naval squadron); 1840, 1841, 1845 (Supplementary ordinances); 1875 (Law of Liberation and regulation of contract labour); 1878, 1889 (Further regulations); 1899 (Dealing with 'corrective labour'); 1902, 1903 (Further regulation of recruitment).

[3] Proclaimed in Portugal, 5 Oct., 1910.

[4] A Commission came from Lisbon that same year and took testimony throughout the colony. For conditions just previous to the Republic, see Nevinson, op. cit.; C. A. Swan, *The Slavery of To-day* (1909); H. R. F. Bourne, *Slave Traffic in Portuguese Africa* (1908); W. A. Cadbury, *Labour in Portuguese West Africa* (2nd ed. 1910); C. Harding, *In Remotest Barotseland* (1903).

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651 another small amount were added, so that it is now Ag. 91,00.[1] This is not high in comparison with the figures for the Union of South Africa and some other African territories, but opportunities
465 for earning in Angola are small. Wages and prices of produce are low indeed. These problems of labour and of taxation are much the same in many South and Central African territories. Their present-day poverty bears very hardly upon the Ovimbundu who saw much more prosperous times in the days of their large-scale trading.

423 *Land.* The ownership and occupation of land by natives does
648 not present the acute problem in Angola which it does in several African territories. Natives have not been herded on to reserves, for rigid segregation is not the Portuguese idea, nor has there yet been occupation of land by European settlers on a scale sufficient to encroach upon the land needed by natives, save in a few localities. A large proportion of the concessions provisionally taken out by Europeans in 1919–25 have reverted to the State for failure to meet requirements, as, for example, to bring a stated proportion under cultivation. Many schemes for European colonization in the Benguela Highland have been projected from time to time. The Portuguese law protects the native in his holdings, but since European settlers often find ways to circumvent the intent of the law, and since an increasing European colonization is apt to be a threat to native holdings, a simplification of the machinery whereby the natives may secure sure title to communal or to individual holdings is highly desirable.[2]

423 Whatever else may be said, however, it is good to be able to report that at the present time the Ovimbundu have their land. This fact has been a very important factor in their transition from

[1] About $4.00 at present exchange. In 1937 the economic year was changed to the calendar year, and in most districts payment of an extra half-year's tax was required. About 1941 the tax was again raised, to Ag. 108,00, and in 1945 it was again put up, to 120,00. These figures are for most of the districts inhabited by the Ovimbundu. In some areas, especially frontier areas, the amounts levied are considerably lower.

[2] For the present official status of the questions of administration, land, labour, &c., see Comte J. de Penha-Garcia, *Organisation politique et administrative de l'empire colonial portugais*, Inst. Col. Int'n'l (1936); ibid. (ed.), *Les Colonies portugaises* (1931); a useful summary of the same will be found in Lord Hailey, *An African Survey* (London: 1938), pp. 213–16, 796 f. There is a discussion of these problems in J. T. Tucker, *Angola, Land of the Blacksmith Prince* (1933), chap. 8. See also Valdez dos Santos, *Angola, Coração do Império* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1943).

regent and incarnation" of the spirits. Sacrifices were made at the royal shrine or *kokoloto* ("at the skulls"), where the skulls of past chiefs were kept, in order to:-

(i) control the elements i.e. to ensure a sufficient supply of rain and avoid the dangers caused by storms; also to control fire by providing a new fire ceremonially kindled[1] from which everyone took his fire.

(ii) to ensure fertility, towards which the royal marriage had great influence. The queen's special province was agriculture and her kitchen was sanctified by human sacrifice to guarantee the national food supply. Ceremonially treated seed was distributed to be mixed with the seed of each granary.

(b) *To represent the country in its external relations*, principally to make trade agreements with other chiefs, or to make war on other peoples in order to get tribute and plunder. The war leader *(Kesongo)* has his own residence entirely separate from that of the king, whom he must not meet face to face except on certain ceremonial occasions.[2] Each king must inaugurate his reign with a war, during which or after which he must ceremonially "eat the old one" *(oku lia ekongo)* - who was usually a specially fattened slave cooked with the flesh of the principal animals commonly eaten.[3]

(c) *To dispense justice*. The chief's court or *olusenje* was the supreme court of the chiefdom. The chief had the final word in any case, but most chiefs acted according to custom.

(d) *To protect himself and the chiefdom*, the chief could use "magic" (?) which might have been accounted witchcraft or murder if practised without authority: e.g. the ritual murder of a pregnant woman, or of the children whose lives were required for building and furnishing the queen's kitchen.

(e) The chief made much use of divination in order to carry out his office. For this purpose he had his own diviner *(citue cosoma)*, who was of the blood royal; but he also consulted diviners of other regions and types.

Succession to chiefship is in the male line,[4] from father to son, elder brother to younger brother or brother's son, or sometimes to one more distantly related. The election is made by the councillors whose duty it is (?), ordinarily before the old chief's death is announced. These same councillors may depose an unpopular chief, and there have been many such depositions. This "democratic" tendency of the Ovimbundu has been noted by most writers. Childs points out that it is attested by the fact that a chief (formerly as well as today) works in his own fields, and by folk-tales which give incidental and intimate pictures of petty details in the lives of the chiefs.†

(1) See above, p.28.
(2) In Bailundu he, with certain other officials, was of the stock of slaves of the state *(ovindili viosoke)*.
(3) Childs, p.21. Many early writers refer to the cannibalism of the "Jagges" or "Imbangalas" who are thought to have been the Ovimbundu chiefs. (See above, p.6, and also Lacerda and Navanatein, quoted by Childs, pp.17ff.)
(4) But inheritance is said to follow a different line among chiefs from among commoners; possibly inheritance is also in the paternal line. See Childs p.18.

† See footnote 1, p. 31

686 actually paid to redeem his brother and sister who were sold to pay the debts of his maternal uncle. Officialdom is one thing and actual [177] practice is another. Ngonga is right when he says that people appeal to the native law as laid down by the chief or king. If they are not satisfied they pretend a great respect for Portuguese law and therefore go to the Administrador.

WARFARE AND SLAVERY

648 726 The Ovimbundu have been for centuries an organized people possessed of a well-developed language, a legal system, and complex social organization. In trade and travel too, the Ovimbundu have been in the vanguard of African tribes. These reasons, in conjunction with the fact of numerical superiority and early contact with the Portuguese, would account for the success of the Ovimbundu in warfare. The defensive federations existing between the ten or twelve main political units, whereby they did not habitually war on each other, helped to assure success. Should the eldest son of a king's [643] principal wife be thought unsuitable as successor, a competent son of the deceased king was elected by a council of village chiefs.

411 There is no evidence that the Ovimbundu poisoned their weapons, neither do they do so today. The Ovimbundu do not use a shield at the present time, neither is it certain that they had shields in former times. A skin-covered powder-box was carried in the king's train when on the warpath.

718 Signaling-drums were about two feet long. They were made from a cylinder of wood over the ends of which skin was stretched. Signaling, which was accomplished by drumming with the palms of the hands, was the task of boys who resided in the king's compound, except when they accompanied him to war or on a trading journey. There was no system of smoke signaling. The iron war gong was named *ongonge*, but the instrument is nowadays tapped by the assistant of a medicine-man during his performance. In former times the gong was struck in the night to give assurance that the enemy was not in sight.

726 In war the oldest son of a king or of a chief went ahead of the war party accompanied by a few men who wore red leaves on their foreheads.

721 Intertribal jealousies, raiding for cattle and slaves, also reprisals for interference with caravan trade, were the chief causes of conflict with surrounding peoples. There was undoubtedly some internal warfare within the confederacy. The Ovimbundu of Elende, Bail-

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

439 721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

• 648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, in the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

167 177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 398–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

6 Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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tinued to engage in warfare. However, trade became increasingly important as the Ovimbundu realized the advantage of their position in between the coastal towns of Benguela and Catumbela, and the tribes of the interior. By the middle of the nineteenth century Ovimbundu were travelling throughout the area bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the Kalahari, and even transcontinental journeys were made. The Ovimbundu carried with them cloths, guns, and rum which they exchanged for ivory, slaves, and wax, to which must be added corn and palm-oil, these latter, however, obtained not from the far interior but from inside or near Umbundu land. The safety of the Umbundu caravans was preserved by the negotiation of treaties with the local rulers, and by agreements (not always satisfactorily kept) between the different Umbundu kingdoms.[25]

From about 1874 rubber became important in Umbundu trade, and it is in the period from then until 1911,[26] when the caravan trade collapsed, that the Ovimbundu knew a prosperity which they have hardly recovered today.[27] It is in this period too that there occurred both the loss of Umbundu independence and the establishment of the missions. In 1890 Ndunduma, the king of Bie, was defeated and deposed, and in 1896 Numa, the king of Bailundo attacked, disastrously, the fort which his predecessors had allowed to be established near the capital. In 1902–3 a widespread revolt, known as the Bailundo war, broke out against the Portuguese, the traders being killed, and the forts besieged. The reasons for this revolt, whose leader Mutuya-Kevela was a minister of the Bailundo court, seem to have been injustices on the part of the white population, and possibly a fall in rubber prices. After 1903 the remaining parts of Umbundu country were brought under effective European rule,

[25] Magyar, pp. 292–9; Childs, pp. 203–5.

[26] Childs following A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910, pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–5, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–85) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the rise of the trade 1874–86, the boom 1886–1900, and the decline 1900–11.

[27] I have heard it said by old men who had taken part in the caravan journeys, and by a local mulatto trader that the Ovimbundu of that period had more clothes than they have now. For Angolan economics after 1911 see Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *Imperio Ultramarino Portuguêz*, Vol. III, pp. 124–39, Lisbon, 1952, and Clement Egerton, *Angola in Perspective*, London, 1957, pp. 106–13.

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and the European population greatly increased.[28] In some areas at this time a confused situation arose, in which 'robber barons', white and black, tyrannized over chiefs and villagers and engaged in the still vigorous slave trade, which now had acquired a few disguises on the coast.[29]

In 1911 the rubber trade ended, and about the same time slavery and the slave trade were effectively suppressed.[30] From this time onwards, too, civil administration began to be effective and the Benguela Railway became the most important link between the coast and the interior.[31] The trade disappeared, powers of the chiefs declined. The missions, both Catholic and Protestant, which had relatively little influence during the rubber trade period, gained more and more converts.[32]

2. *Ethnography*

Between the Ovimbundu and the sea lie the Hanya, the Nganda, and the Tjisanji tribes of whom little is known except that the Hanya and Nganda seem to be culturally related to the Ovimbundu.[33] To the south are the Nyaneka-Humbi group, cattle-keeping peoples who are culturally and linguistically related to the Ovimbundu, but who did not participate in the trade.[34] To the east lie the Ngangela[35], the Luimbi, and the

[28] Childs, pp. 210–11.

[29] For an account of Umbundu country at this time see H. W. Nevison, *A Modern Slavery*, New York, 1906. In Gumba I was told that Mutu-ya-Kevela the leader of the 1902–3 revolt had raided villages for slaves but that Samakaka whom Childs (p. 22) describes as a robber baron was spoken of favourably.

[30] Slavery had been legally suppressed from 1878. The slaves were called by other names but no effective change was made till 1910. See A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910 (pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–55, 180–3, 225–8, 251–3, 279–5).

[31] Childs, p. 228.

[32] Ibid., pp. 220–23. Personal information.

[33] Ibid., p. 8.

[34] On these peoples see Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Vol. II.

[35] A tribe using this word as the root of the tribal name is to be found to the south-east of Umbundu country in the area round Vila Artur de Paiva. Padre A. Van Horrik, formerly of the Missão Católica de Cubango, tells me that the map contained in M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, (London, 1951) should show the Ngangela as occupying much of the area actually assigned to the Mbwela and the south-eastern Ovimbundu. Mbwela does not seem to be the name any tribe uses for itself (Private information, Estermann and Van Horrik).

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rather than any political alliance or opposition, which related the Ovimbundu as a whole to the Portuguese and the other tribes. Informants who remember 'the time of the rubber' talk about it with much more interest and much more detail than about any other aspect of the past, and it is far easier to make an ordered picture out of the narratives of the caravan journeys than to fill in the gaps in the descriptions of the political and kinship systems provided by Childs and Hastings.[87]

Politically the Ovimbundu were divided, as has been said, into several kingdoms. Bailundo, the largest of the kingdoms was divided, according to Childs into about 200 sub-chiefdoms. As it had about half a million inhabitants this would give an average population of about 2,500. While the kingdoms seem to have been more or less stable in number and boundaries from the end of the eighteenth century, the number of sub-chiefdoms seems to have increased. Thus an official Portuguese estimate made in 1799 gives Bailundo as having only 82 sub-chiefdoms, and Galangue, where Childs counted 112 sub-chiefdoms, as having 78. The sub-chiefdom paid tribute to the king, sent men for his armies, and recognized his court as the supreme arbitrator. Some sub-chiefdoms were held by ministers or relatives of the king.[88]

It is, however, not easy on the sparse detail available to decide how much autonomy the sub-chiefdoms really had. Gumba, the area where I worked, was a sub-chiefdom of the Bailundo kingdom, albeit on the north-western frontier, neighbouring Cassongue and Cela, where the people did not call themselves Va-Mbailundu, though their rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Bailundo. Old men told me of raids from Bailundo for slaves, but I cannot say if this was the result of the period of disorder mentioned, or whether sub-chiefdoms on the border of a kingdom gave only nominal submission and received only nominal protection. In the area where I worked,

[87] This is not intended as a personal reflection on Dr. Childs and the late Dr. Hastings, both of whom deserve the highest praise for their work and for their obvious devotion to the Ovimbundu. Hastings devoted far more space to the magico-religious field than to the kinship system. Likewise Childs's description of kinship is much shorter, much less detailed, and much less satisfactory than his account of childhood and adolescence, or the really outstanding historical chapter.

[88] Magyar, pp. 385-92; Childs, pp. 23-24.

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Men can go out to work in three ways. By going to look for work in a city or on a plantation, by being recruited in his village by a travelling labour recruiter (*angariador*), or by being recruited through the post for military service or for contract labour (a period of a year's non-voluntary work).

Men who are away at work may keep in touch with their kin by letters. These are sent to the nearest Catholic or Protestant mission station according to the religious sympathies of the sender and his kin and are sent from there to the villages.

Angola forms an Overseas Province of Portugal, and is therefore subject to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon. The Overseas Provinces of Portugal are officially declared to be integral parts of Portugal, which is regarded as a nation existing in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The expression 'Here also is Portugal' is often heard in Angola.

The inhabitants of Angola are in legal status divided into 'civilized' persons, whether white, mulatto, or black, with Portuguese citizenship, and Portuguese 'natives' or 'uncivilized' persons,[1] this latter category including some 3,000 'uncivilized' mulattoes. The 1950 census gave Angola a total population of 4,145,266 of whom 135,355 were 'civilized'. This category was composed of 78,826 whites, 26,335 mulattoes, and 30,089 Africans, plus a balance of 105 presumably Goans.

The 'natives' are, unlike the 'civilized', subject to the Labour Code. There is no Native Legal Code, nor does Portuguese law apply to 'natives'. Administrative officers may apply Portuguese law, or native custom as known to them, or their own judgement.

The administration is headed by the Governor-General who resides at Luanda. The province of Angola is divided into districts each headed by a district governor. Both the governors-general and the district governors have usually distinguished themselves in the Services or in a legal career. Members of the administrative service are not usually promoted to these posts, although they may attain such positions as that of Secretary of Native Affairs.

The districts are in turn sub-divided into *concelhos* (a term

[1] By a law of 1961 Portuguese citizenship has been made universal.

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meet other Angolan Protestants through such occasions as the Congress of Evangelical Youth, held at Malange in 1955.

While the Catholic missions are not tied to the Ovimbundu in the same way as the Protestants the number of their adherents falls sharply when the Umbundu boundary is reached. Responsiveness to missionary activity is a mark of the Ovimbundu today just as was participation in the caravan trade. Indeed, the main common possession of the Ovimbundu, the Umbundu language, is, as a literary vehicle and object of study, almost a missionary monopoly. Both missions produce a monthly magazine in Umbundu and Portuguese, and several books of a religious or educational nature have been published with Umbundu on one side and Portuguese on the other as legally required. The dictionaries and grammars are almost all of missionary authorship.

Acceptance of Christianity has also significance for Umbundu self-consciousness. The majority of Ovimbundu have come under missionary influence in varying degrees, and conversion to Christianity makes Ovimbundu feel closer to Europeans and superior to other African peoples. I have heard African priests claim that the Ovimbundu are the best people in Angola, largely on this ground, and at Lobito and Luanda tensions have been felt in the Protestant community between Ovimbundu and members of other tribes.[11]

The Ovimbundu live under economic, political, and religious systems introduced and controlled by Europeans. Yet trader, official, and missionary are all dependent on the Ovimbundu. The 'civilized' and the native live in symbiosis, and the two basic problems of this study are the nature of this symbiosis, and its relation to the social system of the native population themselves. To see this symbiosis in perspective it is necessary to describe what occupations and statuses Africans can hold.

The strict segregation of black and white found in South Africa is alien to Portuguese traditions. There is a lack of almost all forms of public segregation between white and non-white.[12]

[11] Personal information.

[12] In the racial discrimination that does exist the mulattoes generally count as whites. It is said to be difficult for a full African to obtain accommodation in a Luanda hotel, but the situation for mulattoes is quite different.

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mines are widely known to people. Although Ovimbundu Protestants are often referred to as 'America' a word used both as an adjective and a plural noun, they (that is, of course villagers, not educated men such as the pastors or teachers) have no clear idea of the existence of, still less any identification with, the United States.

Like the other parts of Umbundu country Bimbe has experienced much missionary activity. The Catholic Mission of Bimbe has had a great deal of influence, the catechists teaching catechism and leading daily prayers in the villages, which the priests visit once or twice a year, and at such feasts as Christmas and Easter great crowds attend the Church services.

The Protestants depend on the pastoral centres of Henge and Luvemba, which are regularly visited by a missionary from Bailundo. Both here and throughout the Highland Catholics are more numerous than Protestants, but in some sub-chiefdoms Protestants are in the majority, notably in Kapali and round Henge. I have already mentioned the differences between Catholic and Protestant missionary organization. At the local level a number of differences can be noticed, in such matters as the neater, more planned appearance of the Protestant villages which have far more rudimentary[28] (pre-primary) schools than the Catholics. These schools are entirely financed by the Protestant villagers; among the Catholics while there is a desire for more schooling there is a lack of the drive that the Protestants show. A *chefe de posto* said that Protestants spoke Portuguese better than Catholics; and the Protestants are more 'Europeanizing' in their outlook.

The *chefes de posto* visit each sub-chiefdom only once a year. As the relations between the *chefes* and the people are usually concerned with the gathering of fines and taxes, the recruitment of labour, and the arrest and punishment of offenders, it is not surprising that the people regard the *chefe* with fear and mistrust. Yet there is a genuine acceptance of Portuguese rule. Thus villagers sing the Portuguese National Anthem at parties, the Portuguese flag is a meaningful symbol, and there is a belief

[28] Rudimentary education is a course intended for natives at a pre-primary level. It includes teaching of Portuguese, and also some instruction in agriculture and hygiene.

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649 that the Government is benevolent even if its agents are not, and men say that they like the Europeans. There are other opposed currents of feeling, though; thus a cook to a European family said to me, 'The Portuguese do not wish us to learn' and a villager declared, 'The Portuguese say to the English that the Ovimbundu have tails.'[29] The great mass of the Ovimbundu 186 seemed to be without political consciousness, or desire for independence; there is little nostalgia for the days of the caravans, and it is widely felt that the present is better than the past, since there is more contact with Europeans.

366 Traders in the neighbourhood were relatively few, compared to other parts of Umbundu country. At Chicunda there were three trading stores and people who did not like them went across the river to Cassongue. Traders try to prevent natives 433 who live in their neighbourhood from dealing at other stores where they can get better prices, but this is not always effective. Some Ovimbundu realize that variations of price levels are related to such factors as proximity to the railway line. The traders are criticized for paying their servants low wages as compared with those paid in the coastal cities. Although there 609 is a great deal of mutual suspicion between the traders and the Ovimbundu which is expressed in the arguing and haggling that takes place in the stores, there is none of the fear so noticeable in the people's attitudes to the *chefes*. Many traders have a smattering of Umbundu, and have a certain affection for the 437 local people. Economically, the role of the traders is to receive the maize and other products grown locally for transport to the railway line, and to distribute trade goods to the villages. Their presence is also important in preventing the rise of any other system of trading by markets or pedlars.

439 The principal goods sold are blankets, cloths, and clothing of all sorts, including fancy items such as sun-glasses. There are also a good many bottles of wine, and also oil-lamps and kerosene tins, and electric torches. For literates or would-be literates, there are pens, pencils, writing-papers and slates. Such goods as bicycles, gramophones, and sewing-machines are generally

[29] i.e. The Portuguese say the Ovimbundu are savages and keep them from contact with other Europeans. The Bailundo area had not (up to September 1961) been affected by the revolt. However, a marked change in the attitude of subordinate whites seems to have taken place.

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bought in the towns, and men returning from South Africa are said to bring all sorts of goods including typewriters. The traders do not lend money though they sometimes give credit. The living standards of the traders are often low, some being unable to buy a truck, and having therefore to come to terms with someone who has one. I have even heard of traders having to eat the staple Umbundu mush (*pirão* in Portuguese).

While the traders play an extremely important role in the local economy they do not establish any permanent face-to-face relationship with the natives outside their household and store, because they are not interested in them and have no reason to be. This does not apply in the same way to African *assimilados*, actual or self-styled, of whom there were a few in the neighbourhood, who lived more or less in Portuguese style. Of these one in particular, Justino, made a hobby of settling disputes, and will therefore re-appear later on. Their main source of revenue was coffee-growing, and they would occasionally have local labour working for them. As they tend to identify themselves with the 'civilized' population, their attitude to the natives is not unlike that of the traders, but culturally and linguistically they are linked to the Ovimbundu villagers, and if of local origin will have kinship links too.

This group is significant because it is in the total social structure of Angola a link between the 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' communities. Both the *assimilados* and those pseudo-*assimilados* who have persuaded the natives that they are *assimilados*, identify themselves with the whites but are also linked much more closely with the natives than any other group. As the division into 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' is legally sanctioned on the grounds of culture not race, a group which participates to some degree in the cultures of both sections must be of great significance in the study of the means by which the whole society is integrated. In the neighbourhood where I worked this group of Europeanized Africans were few in numbers,[1] both absolutely and in relation to other parts of Angola.

[1] I only know of one genuine *assimilado* in the neighbourhood though there were others who claimed to be such. Galvão and Selvagem (p. 458) remark of the Cazenga *concelho* of northern Angola, 'The great number of civilized negroes, some planters incorporated in the European economic system, hastened the disintegration and confusion of the tribal institutions.'

1 [assimilados are Africans possessing Portuguese citizenship -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER III

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN IN GUMBA

1. *The History of Gumba*

The historical perspective of Ovimbundu is short. Few, even elders, know of any landmark earlier than the Mutu-ya-Kevela rising of 1902–3, nor even for those who had participated in it did the time of the rubber trade form a Golden Age by which the present is judged. The period about which most was remembered was the reign of Mbati.[1]

Mbati had ruled over both Gumba and Chicunda, a union which had existed only during his lifetime, and which would have given him on present-day population figures 7,500–9,000 subjects.[2] He had managed to keep in his own hands the relations between his people and the government post. Policemen arriving at his capital to recruit labourers were entertained while Mbati's ministers got together the men required. Although an upholder of the traditional rites associated with chieftancy he had been on good terms with the missionaries and allowed a Catholic catechist to settle in his village. One of his sons became a Protestant schoolteacher near the railway line, another entered the Catholic seminary but left and became a policeman in Cela. Many of the numerous progeny provided by his seventeen wives are still living in Gumba.

Mbati's downfall came through his practising the traditional annual ritual cannibalism (*oku lia ekenge*). About 1934–5 he was banished for this to another part of Umbundu country.

[text continues on p. 37]

[1] L. Magyar marks a place called Gumba on his map (opposite to page 1) but puts it to the south of the capital of Bailundo. As he does not seem to have personal knowledge of this area, this does not rule out identification, especially as the Cuvo begins to the south of Bailundo.

[2] For the basis of this estimate see section 2 of this chapter.

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Some ten years later he was allowed to return to Gumba but died on the way back.

His successor was Simbwyikoka, who was a mother's brother's son of Mbati, that is in Umbundu terminology a 'son'. Umbundu rules of succession allow anybody to succeed to a chiefdom who is paternally or maternally related to a previous chief, whether or not this relationship is genealogically traceable.[3]

Simbwyikoka was apparently nominated to act as regent during Mbati's absence, and as he did not complete the full cycle of chiefly rites he did not have quite the same prestige among the people as a chief in his own right who 'had finished', that is, had gone through all the rites. It was he who was the last ruler of Gumba to send the annual tribute in the form of a sack of fish to Bailundo, since it was a little after the time of his accession that Kandimba[4] (or Njahulu), the last of the Bailundo royal house to have any real authority over the kingdom, died.

Simbwyikoka had lived at the hamlet of Kamballa in Gumba. When he took up office he did not settle at Mbati's village of Katembo, but established, or rather re-established, as a previous chief had ruled there, his capital[5] on the top of the narrow ridge which cuts off the greater part of Gumba from access by road. It was not possible for many people to settle on this site. Accordingly Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at the foot of the ridge, swelling the population of an already existing village. This was called Mwekalia from the headman, who held the office of Mwekalia[6] another ministerial title associated with the chiefly court.

In 1938 Simbwyikoka was deposed by the *chefe* for shielding his dependents from the operation of 'contract labour' (administrative recruitment of non-voluntary labour). About 1944

[3] My informants. This means that within (and outside) any sub-chiefdom there are a number of potential heirs who in no way receive any special status or form any kind of corporate group from this fact.

[4] Reigned at Bailundo 1911–35. Childs, p. 109

[5] In Umbundu Ombala, often transcribed in Portuguese as Embala.

[6] For the role of Mwekalia see Hastings, p. 39. His statement that the office is matrilineally inherited was not confirmed by my informants. It seems that it can be inherited either patrilineally or matrilineally. The man who was known as Mwekalia and had been headman of the village of that name did not function as such at the chief's court during my stay. A kinsman of his, Ngumbo, acted as Mwekalia at the court of Lesser.

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173 634 662 Simbwyikoka founded a new village known by his name. In 1951 one of his sons, Sassungu, founded a new village Sassungu whose population originated with a group of people from his father's village. Simbwyikoka maintained contact with Kamballa, where another son, Felisi, lived and herded Simbwyikoka's cattle.

173 634 [648] The new chief was Kakope, a son of Tjiweka who had been chief of Gumba at the time of the Muta-ya-Kevela rising. He held office for only two years, being deposed by the *chefe* since ill-health made monthly visits to the post difficult for him. He was succeeded by Kafelo, who came to Gumba from Cassongue across the river. Kafelo was a cross-cousin of Mbati and paternal kinsman of Kakope. Having gone through the cycle of chiefly rites, and undertaken Mbati's funeral he was regarded as being fully chief, in a way that Simbwyikoka was not.

The Epalanga[7] of a chief is a minister chosen from among the chief's kin. Kafelo had nominated to this post Sapapula, a matrilateral 'brother' of his and an inhabitant of Menga. Sapapula moved into Gumba and founded the village of [166] Epalanga in 1945–6, where he was joined by various kinsmen. I have heard the foundation of Epalanga ascribed to another man, Mwehombo, who will be mentioned again, and should therefore be introduced. Mwehombo had been minister at the court of Mbati, his mother's brother. After Mbati's death Mwehombo had stayed at Katembo till 1941, when he settled in Menga with his kinsman Sapapula. Mwehombo crossed over to Gumba in 1944.[8]

173 634 [648] In 1954 Kafelo was deposed by the *chefe*, as Kafelo had been drunk in his presence. Kutenga Lusase, who had in 1945 founded the village of Kamupa, saw his chance and told the *chefe* that he had been chosen chief according to custom. The people of Gumba did not complain about this to the post, as they were afraid of the consequences. Kutenga Lusase claimed to be related to Mbati and Simbwyikoka and was a matrilateral 'grandson' of Tjiweka. He was not related to Kafelo whose link to Tjiweka was a patrilateral one.

Kutenga Lusase was in his turn deposed by the *chefe* in 1956

[7] Hastings, p. 55.

[8] Information from his 'brother', Lusaga.

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for lack of effectiveness following a series of quarrels. His successor was Tjilombo a government headman and the leading personality of the village of Tjisangu. Such, then, is the recent history of Gumba.

2. *Chiefs, Government Headmen, and Traditional Headmen*

I have outlined the succession of chiefs in Gumba, and the villages with which they were associated. I have noted that nowadays there are government headmen as well as the traditional headmen. I wish now to indicate what authority the chiefs and the two sorts of headmen have and how this is related to the villages.

The sub-chiefdom is a recognized administrative unit. The census, and the annual check on the census, are taken on a sub-chiefdom basis, as are the collection of taxes and the recruitment of workers for contract labour, road work, and jobs to be done at the post. The sub-chief and the government headmen have to visit the post once a month. The *chefe de posto* (head of post = District Officer) will normally only visit each sub-chiefdom once a year for the check on the census. He may send orders for the recruitment of labourers or the arrest of an offender by one of the policemen who live at the post. His principal contact with the people comes in the adjudicating of disputes which the people are quite ready to carry to the post—the Bimbe *chefe*, whose area included Gumba, told me that hearing cases was his main occupation. Very few *chefes* have anything more than a smattering of the Umbundu language, and they have only the vaguest knowledge of the culture and social usages—for instance they may be aware of the classificatory extension of kinship terms and the association of leopardskins with chieftancy. The *chefes* are moved about fairly frequently and their names and personalitie are not known to the people. As the people associate the post with demands for taxes, fines, and labour services, and are only likely to visit the post when recruited as non-voluntary labourers or to have their photographs taken for identity cards, it is not surprising that fear is the predominant emotion they feel towards the *chefe*.

The staff of the post consists of the interpreter, an African

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with primary and possibly some secondary education, the clerks who have primary schooling, and the policemen, who are often illiterate. The police are locally recruited and are provided with their keep, from the farm attached to the post, and with uniforms. They are usually—by no means always—illiterate. The interpreter, clerks, and police tend to identify themselves with the *chefe* as against the people; however, a policeman may be influenced in his relations with the villagers by gifts and friendship.

The size of population of sub-chiefdoms varies. The 1950 census gave the total 'non-civilized' population of the Bailundo *concelho* as being 246,045, and the number of sub-chiefdoms as 82,[9] that is, an average of 3,000 individuals per sub-chiefdom. The *chefe* of Bimbe told me in August 1956 that Gumba had 800 taxpayers, and Chicunda had 700. Putting the proportion of taxpayers as 1 to 6 (on the basis of Epalanga proportions) this gives 4,800 as the population figure for Gumba and 4,200 as the figure for Chicunda. Even if the proportion of 1 to 5 be taken as the proportion between taxpayers and total population this gives us 4,000 as the figure for Gumba and 3,500 as the figure for Chicunda. I do not know what the local density of population is; in the Bailundo *concelho* as a whole it is 16–17 individuals per square kilometre.[10]

The chief and government headmen are the main channel of conveying demands and orders from the post to the villagers. They receive in return the remission of their taxes. Their dependence on the post is not, however, sufficient to give them a position of marked superiority in their locality for the following reasons. They are unable to control all relations between the post and the people; anybody who has a dispute on hand may take it direct to the post. In village life their influence can always be counterbalanced by that of the catechists and 'elders of the school' whose contact with the missions is much closer than that of the chiefs and government headmen with the post. They also lack economic resources; the exemption from taxes (which the Catholic catechists share)

[9] See Gálvao and Selvagem, pp. 363-5. For Angolan population density see Egerton, pp. 36-37.

[10] My own estimate from figures given by Gálvão and Selvagem.

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does not give them any claim to financial assistance from the people, or control over natural resources, such as land rights. The only prerogative of this sort that the chief has is the right to the leg of an antelope killed in a hunt or a bull killed in a commemoration rite—and this is of symbolic rather than economic importance.

Nor, finally, does the post give the chiefs prestige and support.[11] Five successive chiefs of Gumba had been deposed by the post, and it is not uncommon for chiefs and government headmen to be beaten or otherwise punished (for instance by being made to work for a fortnight at the post) for their shortcomings. They have in fact just sufficient power to carry out the commands of the *chefe* and to do nothing more. They are not disliked by the local people for doing what the *chefe* tells them to do, but any attempt at dictatorial behaviour on their part will stir up opposition which may lead to their downfall.

The relations between white *chefe* and black chief vary according to individuals and neighbourhoods. Sometimes the *chefe* will allow the chief to be chosen according to tradition; at other times he will impose a candidate of his own. A *chefe* may hear any cases that are brought to the post, or he may delegate the power of hearing minor cases to the chiefs. Some *chefes* will regard the chiefs with hostility as being enemies of their own people; others will abstain under any circumstances from beating a chief, as they feel their power should be supported. Here I describe the situation as it was in Gumba and in Bimbe generally.

A visit to a chief's village in Gumba or elsewhere will give an opportunity of meeting those residents who hold the ministerial titles, of gazing under overshadowing trees at the enclosure in which are kept the skulls of former chiefs, and perhaps of seeing the chief and some of his cronies dance to a drum in commemoration of one of his predecessors. Ministers, skulls, dances, and drum are symbols of chiefly nostalgia rather than of political power. The ceremonies have little interest for the people in general, and many of them have been abandoned by the chief. Lussae's first wife had not, as custom demanded,

[11] For criticism of this policy by two Portuguese with administrative experience see Galvão and Selvagem, p. 613.

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The tasks of recruiting contract labourers and road-workers and of getting fines and taxes paid, and such other duties as the arranging of compulsory purchase of tickets for the travelling cinema (showing patriotic films) are carried out through a long process of argument, attempted evasion, and pressure, between the chief, the government headmen, and the locally influential people, traditional headmen, catechists, and anyone else who can get himself listened to. Persons actually picked for contract labour or road work may make quite a fuss about it, but as such numbers are recruited it is ultimately accepted resignedly. It is not really practicable for a chief to discriminate in favour of his kinsman owing to the heavy demands for labour and the likelihood of such discrimination being reported at the post, as happened to Simbwyikoka. Demands for labour may fall heavily on some households. Thus one Epalanga household consisted of a man, his daughter by an earlier marriage, his wife and her baby daughter. The man had been taken for contract labour, his wife had been called to road work, and the adolescent daughter was carrying sisal[14] to the post. A kinsman of the household head attempted to arrange for some watch to be kept over the gardens lest animals should get in.

There were four government headmen in Gumba during my stay. Theoretically they are village headmen. The villages in which official records group Ovimbundu do not conform to the actual villages in which Ovimbundu live. Anybody moving from one village to another has to pay a fee; as the Ovimbundu move about quite frequently and no attempt is made to enforce this rule locally, the result is this discrepancy between paper and real villages.

The government headman's duties are those already described for the chief. As with the chief, there is only sufficient backing from the post for him to carry out the orders he receives; he does not receive power to enable him to exercise political leadership and judicial authority at the local level, nor is he a representative of the post in the villages. His interests and values are linked to those of his neighbours rather than to the post. It is through the chief and the government headmen

[14] Some villages are obliged to grow sisal and take it to the post without payment.

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that the administration gets labour and money from the villagers, and largely though not exclusively through them that the villagers keep in touch with the post which politically integrates them into Angola and legally provides sanctions which they do not possess. The government headmen do not supervise on behalf of the post the daily life of their fellow-villagers. The government laws—such as the prohibition of beer- and rum-brewing and grass-burning (for hunts)—which if enforced would bring about a certain number of changes in Umbundu social life, are not enforced for many reasons—the administration makes no real attempt to suppress these uses as opposed to levying annual fines[15] per head, the government headmen go in for these customs themselves, and they lack the power to achieve this enforcement. Were the government to introduce policies involving some reorganization of the social life they would need a stronger form of local authority. Under the present circumstances, however, the powers and status of the chief and government headmen are quite consistent with the demands made on them by the post.

There were four government headmen in Gumba in 1955–6, Guilherme, Lupassa, Tjilombo (who became chief after the deposition of Lusase), and Walivanga. Guilherme was in 1955 living in Epalanga. Some people thought he should live in Kamupa which had been founded by his mother's brother Lusase—however, when he left Epalanga in 1956 he settled near the Protestant village of Kalungwengwe. His change of residence had been the result of violent quarrels with Paulo and other Epalanga people. Lupassa lived in Katembo, and was a sister's son of Kaluywa, who was the traditional headman. I do not think Lupassa was the dominating personality in Katembo. Tjilombo was on the other hand the leading personality in Tjisangu, many of its people being related to him. Walivanga was similarly linked by kin or affinal ties to the majority of the people of Belem.

The foregoing paragraph raises the question of the relationship of the government headman to the traditional headmen. A man who is both a government headman and a traditional headman is in a fairly strong position in his village; when the

[15] Each fine is about 10–20 escudos (1/8d.–3/-).

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Luveli's income from bricklaying. The laying of the bricks that form a modern villager's house may bring 100 escudos.

The basic cash need of an Otjimbundu, then, is for money to pay government demands and to provide clothing for his wife and children, who seem more likely than the men to get new clothing every year.[1] Add to this the possibility of other calls (e.g. provision for a relative's funeral) a desirable income even for this low level of consumption would be 400 escudos (£5) and a more prosperous villager might earn and spend double the amount. Exceptional individuals still remaining within the normal conditions of Umbundu cultural and social life, such as Kambungo, may earn from 2,000 to 3,000 escudos a year, perhaps even more, from agriculture. Maize is the foundation of the agricultural economy, but Kambungo's remark that maize did not pay seems to reflect a trend to find other openings such as growing coffee, which is, however, subject to difficulties of climate.

Within the villages there is some trade in handmade objects such as pottery, sleeping-mats, and sticks for stirring mush, and there are quite a number of bricklayers, carpenters, and tailors (proprietors of sewing-machines) who have acquired European skills which bring them money. These craftsmen are, on payment of a fee of 250 escudos (a figure given me by a tailor), exempt from contract labour.

Many European residents seem to think that the only European products natives desire are cloths, clothing, and wine. This is not so; villagers wanted me to sell them kerosene for lamps, D.D.T. powder for their hair, and soap. It is interesting that the occasions on which an Otjimbundu would accumulate large (for him) sums all fall outside the maize-for-cloth pattern of trading. These occasions are bridewealth payment (and counting all expenses this may well come to 800 escudos—£10 or more), which is a traditional due, the purchase of bicycles (according to place of purchase from 1,200 escudos [£15] to 1,500 escudos [£18. 15. 0]) which are prestige-giving objects, and the trading journeys to buy cattle. Kambungo had

[1] The trader whose opinions I have previously quoted (Senhor Alberto Oliveira Mendes of Chicuma), remarked, 'It is the women who save us. The men make a shirt last for three or four years but the women get something new every year.'

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unambiguous approval, though there is a certain undertone suggesting cunning in the verb *oku lunguka* (to be shrewd) used about prosperous people. The old suspicion of sorcery attaching to people who were more successful farmers than their neighbours[1] seems to have disappeared. While a prosperous villager would be expected to lend money to a poorer kinsman (provided the latter was not known as a bad debtor) yet, the situation which occurs in other parts of Africa, where, as Dr. V. W. Turner notes of the Mwinilunga Ndembu, prosperous Africans 'find themselves increasingly embarrassed by the demands of their kin for presents in cash and kind'[2], would not arise among the Ovimbundu, who would regard such demands as being unjustified, even outrageous.

Wealthy Ovimbundu may spend some of their wealth on clothing and on drink. Cattle-buying has been noted as a form of capital investment and the same term may be used of small stock buying. Another way of disposing of money is by building a house of bricks with the assistance of a bricklayer. A plough may be, but rarely is, bought by two men joining together to pool their money. Generally speaking, the agricultural technology of the Ovimbundu has been little changed since 1911 except for the spread of the techniques of coffee-growing.

It has been noted earlier that the Ovimbundu play an important part in the economic life of Angola both as cultivators and labourers. In this chapter an attempt has been made to show how at the local level it is the cultivation of cash crops, rather than migration for wage labour, which incorporates villagers into the commercial economy of modern Angola. The main source of money in rural areas is the trader's store, which is also the main recipient of money, apart from the administration. While trade both between Ovimbundu and between Ovimbundu and other tribes survives on a minor scale, the social institutions associated with the rubber trade, the large caravans, the non-repayable loans within the matrilineal group, and the obligations of wealthy traders to assist their kin, have disappeared. The contemporary social structure with the

[1] Childs, pp. 106-8.
[2] V. W. Turner, op. cit., p. 135.

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even in non-religious matters has influence with the post, and can through this influence effect the arrest of diviners and baptized polygamists, or intervene on the side of somebody called before the post.

A catechist may be removed from his position by the mission for incompetence, or for moral failings, such as unchastity or rum-brewing on an extensive scale. He may also become involved in quarrels with his people, who may say that he is bad-tempered, while he will say that they are disobedient. Such a dispute will be referred to the mission where an attempt will be made to persuade the two parties to sink their differences. If this fails, the catechist may return to his old village, but may become a catechist elsewhere if the circumstances have not been such as to destroy the mission's confidence in him.

There are other ways in which the catechist represents his village. The post may impose certain responsibilities; thus the catechist may be told to record all live births in the village for the purposes of official statistics. The catechist will try and keep on good terms with the policemen who live at the post and visit the villages. The catechist of Epalanga gave a chicken to a visiting policeman and explained that this was a general practice in order that catechists visiting the post for the annual check on their papers should find a policeman who would be good to them. However, a catechist will object to attempts to associate him with the more unpopular activities of the post. Thus when a policeman came to the Epalanga catechist and asked him to help in recruiting labourers, the latter was rather angry. 'My work is to teach doctrine, not to seize people.' Similarly, when visiting a Protestant village once I asked where the government headman lived and was told in rather an irritated tone, 'No, we have nothing of the post here. We have only the school.'

The sense of responsibility which the catechist feels for his village is sometimes counterbalanced by his lack of effective power. Thus in the dry season of 1956 a bridge near Epalanga which was crossed by the track to Chicunda was broken down. Pedro Chiquete Santos thought that this might bring punishment on the villagers, and accordingly appealed for volunteers to repair it. He also asked Jeremias, the Protestant catechist of

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servant of mine explaining how the Mwekalia chose the chief said, giving me a comparison: 'The Bishop of Nova Lisboa thinks "This priest has sense" and so makes him the superior of a mission'.[6] The disintegration of the old political system, and the association of its representatives with the ritual values which are no longer very significant for the mass of Ovimbundu, has destroyed the old pyramid of authority and prestige. The people associate demands and punishment, for which they seem to receive very little in return, with the post. Many draw a distinction between the actual *chefe* and the government, which they regard as benevolent and ignorant of the behaviour of its representatives. Despite such expressions of loyalty as the singing of the Portuguese national anthem at village parties the 'government' is too distant and shadowy for the Ovimbundu to have much knowledge of it. Nor has the post tried effectively to build up new types of bureaucratic authority in the villages—the government headmen are not given sufficient backing or responsibility by the post to do more than execute its orders.

Hence, the establishment of new types of grouping and leadership at the local level has been the work of the missions, and it is through the missions that these new groupings are articulated on to the total Angolan social system. The missionaries, who provide this articulation between the 'civilized' society and the local organization of the natives, form the section of the 'civilized' population which most satisfies, in its relations with the people, the expectations of the Africans.

To use another term, it is within the Catholic and Protestant Churches that Ovimbundu most clearly identify themselves. Baptism identifies an individual by giving him a name, hence Christians object to non-baptized people identifying themselves in this way. To an individual baptism is significant since it is concerned with his destiny. By it also he identifies himself with the 'civilized' population and achieves a new status superior to that of the pagans. The newly-born child of Christian parents will be given a Christian name and also an Umbundu name from one already held by a dead kinsman.[7] A few villagers

[6] Actually responsibility for appointing superiors of missions largely belongs to the superior of the Nova Lisboa district of the Congregação do Espírito Santo.

[7] For Umbundu names, see Elisabeth Ennis, *African Studies* (Johannesburg) March 1945.

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attempt to take on European surnames. Alternatively, a man may take his father's name and attempt to use it as a surname. Thus Joaõ Batista Tjindandi, a resident of Epalanga, had received Joaõ Batista in baptism, and had taken Tjindandi, his father's name, as a surname. This is, however, not at all a general trend. Even a village of mixed Christian-pagan population may be known by the name of its school, identifying itself by its Christian name.

A man identifies himself also with social change and with progress by 'entering the school'. When a small girl, whom I asked if she had 'entered into the school' replied 'Not at all', her elder sister's husband remarked: 'She is asleep'. In the general Angolan society the religious referent is the most status-giving type of reference that most Ovimbundu can give. There is no very marked feeling in the superiority of one area of Umbundu country to another nor even is there a marked sense of the superiority of Ovimbundu to other tribes—thus the Kimbundu will be highly praised for the degree of European culture they have acquired. The very word Ovimbundu is used as an equivalent of '*pretos*' (blacks) a word not used of 'civilized' Africans, since it is indicative of the lowest colour-class. As a Christian, a man has a status which he shares with Europeans.

He can also identify himself not only in a general way with the Europeans but more particularly with the general church organization. There is much closer contact between the authority-figures of the church organization and the people than between the authority-figures of the administration and the natives. Thus all Catholics in the Nova Lisboa diocese are confirmed by the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, and have seen him—similarly many of the Protestant Ovimbundu know of Dr. Childs, the headmaster of the Protestant secondary school at Dondi, through having heard him preach at a conference. Some Christian villagers would know the names of pioneer missionaries. Little is known by the people about the personalities or duties of the senior members of their administration, and even their titles are not properly understood.

The religious differences which exist at local level have no marked significance in the relations of natives to the post. In certain circumstances a pagan may appeal to a Christian

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catechist or missionary for support at the post. There is no tendency to confine government appointments to chiefdoms and headmanships to Catholics.[8] However, the Protestant catechists are, unlike the Catholic catechists, not exempt from taxes.[9]

The Ovimbundu no longer possess a coherent political system of their own. They cannot, owing to the nature of their relations with the post and their ignorance of the higher administration, regard the Government as being their representative; the only wide-range systems with which they can identify themselves are the missions. It is through them that the individual is promised eternal life, that the village receives a new type of identity and unity, and that the Ovimbundu as a people participate with the 'civilized' population in ritual communities cutting across the boundaries of culture and geography.

The objection may be made that it is only the Christians who could effectively be represented by the missions and that in Epalanga and Gumba generally baptized Christians formed a minority. It has, however, been previously noted how the school may give its name to a village of mixed population. The catechist will represent both Christians and pagans when he is concerned with the post or with the mission. Moreover, the percentage of pagans in Gumba is far higher than in the rest of Bimbe to which they are linked by the Umbundu language and culture, by administrative divisions, and by a wide range of personal contacts.

It may, then, be asserted, that the catechetical schools and the wider groupings which they build up are the social groups most significant for Umbundu integration on any scale wider than that of the household.

[8] In Gumba the chief and government headman were pagan. There are government-recognised Protestant chiefs elsewhere in Umbundu country.

[9] In some parts of Angola the Catholic catechists are not automatically granted exemption but have to have obtained certain other qualifications, e.g. a certain degree of literacy.

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live next to each other has been noted as a new development, impossible in the days of agnatic residence groups. It will be remembered how in listing the kinship cores of Epalanga, Joaõ was placed among the kin of Mbati and Mwehombo with which he had become associated through his marriage to Paulina, although he had come to Epalanga through his relationship to Sapapula.

I have earlier described the preferential marriages as giving 'stability' to the kinship system and as providing a limit on the spread of affinal ties. In what does this stability consist, and how far is there really a limit?

The stability given by the marriage system is not the sum of the stability of individual marriages. Nor is it more than partially a local stability; marriages are not limited to a small geographical range, although the network of marriages between kin is very significant in local relations and even 'long distance' marriages which renew links with Cela and Namba reflect long-standing contacts of marriage and migration. The stability lies in the 'pattern' by which new preferential marriages are constantly being made.

The socio-geographical range over which wives are found does not differ appreciably from the socio-geographical range over which kin ties exist, which, as has been noted in Chapter IV[3], links Gumba strongly to Cassongue, Cela, and Namba, rather than with areas to the south and east, and this range does not seem to be expanding under modern conditions. Migrant labourers do not return to Gumba with wives from other areas. The only definite exception I knew to this rule was provided by Sawaisi, a traditional village headman, who had travelled on the caravans and had subsequently been a soldier. Stationed at Luanda he had there married three Kimbundu women with whom he returned to Gumba, where they were still living with him during my stay.

The preference for kinship marriage is not a limiting factor on marriage in the way that a rule of endogamy is, since a number of marriages occur with non-kinswomen. It is a limiting factor in the way that it gives an additional significance to kinship, since in the choice of a wife the distinction between kin and

[3] See p. 58.

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by the people under Paulo's leadership on Guilherme's position. Guilherme counter-attacks by using his relationship with the post but finds himself forced to seek a reconciliation with the people of Epalanga.

The quarrel had begun with the proposed marriage of Anna, a step-daughter of Guilherme, and a member of his household, to Luciano, a son of the former chief Simbwyikoka and an inhabitant of the latter's village. Guilherme had no effective religious affiliation but Anna had been baptized as a Catholic, her godmother being Maria, the wife of Paulo. Luciano on the other hand was the elder of the Protestant catechetical school in Simbwyikoka village. Paulo therefore intervened to stop the marriage in accordance with the rule made by the Catholic missions against marriage with non-Catholics. Guilherme, angry at this, decided to pick on Pedro Nendi (see List II, p. 55) and Francisco Lyonjanga, sons of Mbati, and therefore wife's brothers to Paulo. Pedro Nendi had been at one time a Catholic catechist but had since been dismissed. Francisco was at the time of my arrival in Epalanga moving out of his village to settle near Pedro in a hamlet near the village. He worked as assistant to Abel Pinheiro, an African carpenter, who lived a little further along the road to Chicunda and who was employed by a white living elsewhere. Guilherme accordingly reported to the post that the two brothers had never gone to contract labour and got a policeman to come with an order for them to be brought to the post for contract labour. The policeman arrived and got Francisco, but Pedro was away visiting relatives at Nova Lisboa. Francisco then claimed that he was in fact employed by a white and was therefore exempt from contract labour. At that time Antonio Pires, an African priest from the *Missão Católica de Bimbe*, was visiting Epalanga as part of a tour through the villages. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th January 1956, Francisco came to my house where the priest had been breakfasting with me, and stated his case. This action brought the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo for the first time within the sphere of a representative of the civilized community. The priest told Francisco to get a letter from his employer to the post. Francisco duly arrived at the post with a letter, but forgot to bring his

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pass[1] and was sent to contract labour. The *chefe* apparently informed his employer that he could get other carpenters from the post.

Paulo, then acting in his official capacity as elder of the school, had intervened in a projected marriage in which Guilherme had received the bridewealth. Guilherme, acting in his official capacity, had attacked Paulo's wife's brothers Francisco and Pedro. The dispute had now been brought within the sphere of the mission (as represented by the priest Antonio Pires) and of the administration which had ordered the recruitment of the two men. The conflict between Guilherme and Paulo was now to widen out to include several other people.

On the 21st January the strain between Guilherme and Paulo showed itself again in violent quarrelling, from which I learnt about the broken engagement of Anna. Paulo said that he would refer the matter to Antonio Pires when the priest came back.

On the morning of the 24th the question was brought before Antonio Pires, the catechist Pedro Chiquete Santos (35), Paulo, and Guilherme all speaking in turn. Then other people raised their grievances. Sapapula declared that Guilherme was the enemy of everybody in the village. A man called Kasosi (7), a sister's son of Wasuka (15), stepped forward to claim that Guilherme had attacked him and injured him. Apparently Guilherme, while having illicit rum in his own house, had beaten up Kasosi for possessing rum. Both Maria, Paulo's wife, and Nahoka, Sapapula's wife, joined in the argument. The only man who seemed in any way favourable to Guilherme was Kapapelo (see List II, p. 55), a mother's brother of his, who was also a 'brother' of Lusase (see List II, p. 55). Antonio Pires came down heavily against Guilherme, at which the latter declared that he owed obedience only to the post and ran off.

Towards the end of the argument Luciano (the former fiancé of Anna) and Jeremias (the Protestant catechist from Simbwyikoka) came to the priest to ask for the repayment of the bridewealth.

On the 25th Lusase, the chief of Gumba, happened to visit

[1] The legal obligation for natives to possess passes is not enforced with the zeal which applies in South Africa.

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Epalanga. Told what had happened, he said that he would keep out of it, and that he had advised Guilherme to live elsewhere. In the afternoon of the same day, as heavy rain was falling, a number of people ran up and bounded on to my veranda. These included Anna, another girl (I think a sister of hers) both rather frightened, Simbwyikoka, Luciano, Paulo and some others. Anna said that Simbwyikoka was a sorcerer[3] and would kill her, and sooner than be killed by sorcery she would jump in the river. Simbwyikoka and Luciano had come to Epalanga to try and recover the 250 escudos which had been paid over in bridewealth. The catechist tried to intervene saying 'The catechist is the chief[4] of everybody in the village', but nobody paid any attention to him. Eventually, as the girl continued to threaten to jump in the river, I contributed 200 escudos, and so those involved left satisfied.

Early the following day I heard that Guilherme had returned from the post with two policemen to arrest various people. Those arrested were Sapapula, his cross-cousins Epalata (5), and Wasuka, and the latter's son Kuseka, Kasosi, Paulo, Pedro the catechist, Bartolomeu (32), Paulo's assistant in school matters, and his son Eugenio. Eugenio and Kuseka were arrested for not paying taxes and their fathers were arrested presumably for their supposed responsibility. Epalata was arrested for a similar alleged offence on the part of one of his sons, who was away as a labourer.

When I came to Guilherme's house a lengthy wrangle was going on from which I select some themes. Guilherme denied that he had planned to burn the catechetical school, the anthropologist's house, and his own house. (These charges were almost certainly invented.)

Paulo said that he had baptized a dying son of Guilherme, who, despite this, had not shown him any respect. He also denied that he had committed adultery with Guilherme's wife. (This would in any case be most unlikely owing to Paulo's blindness, resulting from an eye disease.)

Sapapula declared angrily: 'I gave Guilherme land here but

[3] This accusation was regarded simply as the product of fear and nothing more was heard of it.

[4] He used the word applied to chiefs of Gumbu and other sub-chiefdoms.

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57 Guilherme isn't grateful'—(then to Guilherme) 'I did no harm, I gave you everything, and you beat me.' This arguing eventually died down.

A little later another quarrel sprang up between Wasuka, and Kapapelo, Guilherme's mother's brother and witness. Wasuka declared that Kapapelo had committed adultery with his wife and must be killed. Kapapelo indignantly denied this.

The same day the catechist went to the mission to find the priest Antonio Pires to ask him to support the case against Guilherme. He returned to say that Padre Pires had been moved to the Bailundo Mission, but that he had been given a letter from the mission to the post setting out the case.

Guilherme in the evening came to my house to pay back the 200 escudos which I had paid to Simbwyikoka for the bride-wealth given for Anna. He had raised the 200 escudos from Paulo (his cross-cousin) and from Bartolomeu (his 'brother'), both of whom were under arrest (although free to walk about the village) through Guilherme's actions.

The following day (27th January) the policeman moved off with Guilherme and the others, Bartolomeu, Eugenio, Epalata, Wasuka, Kuseka, Kasosi, Paulo, Pedro Chiquete Santos (the catechist) and Sapapula.

About noon the next day I found that Paulo and the catechist had returned to Epalanga and heard from them what had happened. On the way Guilherme had declared that his violent temper was to blame in having so many people arrested, apologized, and promised to go to another village. He pulled [762] out a knife and threatened to commit suicide if this proposal was not accepted. This appeal was directed mainly to the catechist, and was reinforced by Guilherme's wife, who also threatened suicide and appealed to the catechist's feelings by pointing out that she had had two of her children baptized. This was accepted, and accordingly all turned back to the village except for Guilherme, Bartolomeu, his son Eugenio, and Wasuka's son Kuseka. Eugenio and Kuseka had been arrested [648] for not paying taxes, a matter of more interest to the *chefe* than the village brawl for which the others had been arrested. Eugenio and Kuseka were considered by the *chefe* not to be yet old enough for payment of tax, and Guilherme produced some

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The transformation of the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo into what amounted to both a trial of, and an uprising against, the government headman is not purely accidental but is a natural consequence of the principle latent in the social organization by which the 'school' leaders complement and can check the chief and government headman.

The case also indicates the limited nature of their roles. Both Paulo (by preventing Anna's marriage) and Guilherme (by getting Francisco sent to contract labour) can strike at the other through the lawful exercise of their authority; any real attack on the other's position involves an appeal to either mission or post, and hence brings about a trial of some sort. Guilherme finding that the quasi-trial before the priest went against him, tried to bring the case before the post, but realizing that this also was likely to go against him came to terms with his enemies. That is, any determined attempt to solve a dispute is likely to involve at least the threat of a reference to the post or the mission.

The power of the priest to intervene in the actions of the agents of the post is limited. Thus Antonio Pires did not intervene in the case of Francisco but advised him to get a letter from his employer. It is, however, notable that the missionaries are not simply appealed to by Catholics. Protestants like Jeremias and Luciano, and pagans like Kasosi and Sapapula, were ready to appeal to the priest although the initiative came from Paulo. That this is so is a convincing argument for the claim which has been made that the catechetical school represents the whole village, although it could also be claimed that it reflects rather an aspect of 'civilised'-native relations in the total Angolan system, clientship, as the typical form of relations between the two groups, with the missions being the patrons *par excellence* to whom all natives are at least potentially clients. The general well-being of all natives is the concern of the missions, who are therefore liable to be appealed to in such cases as this.

In particular cases where there is another patron to appeal to his aid will be sought. This patron-client situation will crop up again in the account of subsequent disputes. Its origin historically lies in the history of attitudes to employees and to

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627 servants in Portugal and Angola;[1] sociologically it reflects the
648 lack of any system of bureaucratic administration at the local
571 level and the isolation of the *chefe* from the people. The uncertainties of taking a case to the post are such that it is thought desirable to have some backing (such as the letter the catechist got from the mission) from a representative of the 'civilized' community and in the absence of any other 'civilized' person the mission becomes the patron of all natives, whatever their religious allegiance.

574 The importance of this case, then, is its illustration of what
627 may happen in a conflict between a catechist or elder of the
571 school and a government headman. The limited nature of their powers, and the fact that their roles are not competitive, make a conflict between them, so long as it is not extended to pull in other people, necessarily confined to indirect attacks. If either party wishes to bring down the other he must appeal to the post or to the mission. The government headman can pull people in by accusing them at the post of not paying taxes or creating a disturbance, or by recommending them for contract labour. His position is not so strong as his dependence on the post might suggest, since the intervention of the mission, at the request of the villagers, can bring him down.

Within this main 'political' dispute is the quarrel over bridewealth, which is illuminating both in indicating the absence of legal mechanisms at the village level, and in showing how kinship ties continue to function at the height of a bitter quarrel. Both these points will be noticed again in the accounts of later disputes.

3. *Kapapelo and Sapapula*

574 The next case involved Sapapula and Kapapelo and was
627 again to end in an averted appeal to the *chefe de posto*. On the 21st of February Sapapula, Sabuke (see List II, p. 56), Wanuka, Luanga (21), and others went from Epalanga to the house of Justino, who had called them there to settle a dispute. Justino

[1] An inhabitant of Lisbon, wishing to emigrate to Canada, wooed the maid of a former official of the British Embassy. Discovering that this would get him nowhere, he transferred his affections to the maid of one of the staff of the American Embassy. The implications are interesting.

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People said that he had fled to the house of his sister's son Guilherme en route for the post; Gregorio now said to me that Lusase had made advances to Nahoka, trying to seduce her by saying that Sapapula was old.

On the same day Sapapula left for the post with, as his witnesses, Nahoka and Wasuka carrying a letter of recommendation from me. At the post the *chefe* took his part and told Lusase 'Sapapula is your father' and made Lusase kneel down to seek pardon. Sapapula said that he wished to move across the river into Menga, where he had formerly lived. The *chefe* told him to stay at Epalanga (because of the anthropologist's presence there), but transferred Epalanga administratively from Gumba to Chicunda. This settlement pleased the Epalanga people. It may be added that had Sapapula actually crossed over, a number of householders, including Paulo, would not have followed him.

Despite the *chefe's* acts it was not certain whether the change was to be given effect immediately or only after the *chefe's* annual visit; hence some more wrangling took place over the question of where Epalanga was situated for such purposes as the payment of fines for rum-brewing.

Luanga, who shared with Sapapula the title of Epalanga, came to my house on the night of the 27th June to ask for a letter to the *chefe de posto*. He told me that Lusase wanted to take away his title of Epalanga and send him to contract (non-voluntary) labour. I suggested that we should go together to see Lusase at his village on the following day. The next morning he decided not to go to the chief but to go straight to the post with his wife Adriana. He told me that when Lusase became chief in 1954, he and his 'brother' Mwehombo had bought the title of Epalanga (held under Kafelo by Sapapula) which they held jointly. Luanga had paid for this two pigs equal to 1,000 escudos (about £12. 10s. in British currency) and other things as well. Luanga's motive was not political power (which the present-day chief lacks and of which his ministers have even less) nor prestige, but because he would thus be exempt from contract labour. Luanga said that he did not mind going to contract labour, but insisted on having back what he had paid to Lusase. I said I would write a letter to say that he should not

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go to contract labour and accordingly he left for the post with my letter.

Luanga returned quite satisfied a few days later, the *chefe* having decided in his favour. Two days later he went to the chief's village to complain of Lusase's actions. With him came Bartolomeu and Paulo. Ngombe, as Mwekalia, and thereby responsible for the relations between chief and people, acted as the presiding figure, more chairman than judge, although he spoke for some time on the case. Lusase defended himself by saying that it was not he but somebody else who had recommended Luanga for contract labour. This explanation was accepted by Luanga. Bartolomeu and Paulo received small sums of money from Lusase for acting as witnesses, and later Luanga left with Lusase for another village. Here they effected the succession of a man to his father's title of Mbesi (another ministerial position). Luanga was much pleased with his share of the fee.

Not only the personalities but many of the features of previous cases reappear here. Of the ways of acting which people choose, Ndonga and Lusase use self-help, Ndonga to recover a debt, and Lusase to uphold his prestige. Against Lusase, as against Kapapelo, a moot was formed. Lusase like Guilherme insisted on his responsibility to the post alone, when the opposition seemed to be using a 'civilized' person of a different category. Final decisions are obtained by appeals to the post but the risky nature of such procedures is shown by the desire to get a letter of recommendation. Luanga believed that Lusase had got him sent to contract labour just as Francisco believed (correctly) that Guilherme had got him recruited. Ngombe as Mwekalia is more successful here as arbitrator than in the moot at Kapapelo's. Finally we see the contrast again between the survival of formal recognition in symbol of the prestige of chieftancy (the episode of the bull's leg) and its actual impotence caught between *chefe* and people. The specific issue in this dispute turns on a conflict between a chief and his people, and it shows how a chief can be defeated in the same way that the first dispute showed a government headman being defeated.

Lusase's opponents had, as previously, other means of influencing the post. Gregorio had proposed getting a letter from the

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mission to give Sapapula's case, and, as things worked out, it was the anthropologist who was made the 'civilized' focus for the opposition to Lusase as Antonio Pires had been made the focus of the opposition to Guilherme. Lusase, like Guilherme, reacted by saying that he owed allegiance only to the *chefe de posto*, and running off to the post.

Luanga's case shows how desire to get out of contract labour may give a new reason for taking a ministerial title, and also once again how sending someone to contract labour is regarded as a means of injuring those whom one dislikes.

I have spoken of the conflict between Lusase and Sapapula as being a conflict between a chief and his people, and this is true in so far as it shows how opposition forms against a chief and how he can be checked. It is therefore of importance as indicating the position of the chief in the contemporary social system. The people themselves interpreted the dispute as being essentially one between individuals—Lusase's behaviour was attributed to his lust for Nahoka, and Gregorio entered the dispute not as the ruler of the neighbouring chiefdom of Menga but as a friend of Sapapula. The interpretation of what is a political conflict as a quarrel between individuals may be explained as being due to the relatively limited nature of the role of chief (Lusase) and of traditional headman (Sapapula) which therefore do not predominate in the social status of the individual. (In this particular case, had I got Lusase's viewpoint he would probably have said that he was defending his dignity as chief, whereas Sapapula did not regard Lusase as being really chief.) The lack of a formal court system or even of an articulated political system at the local level has brought into desuetude the old legal and political idioms and the Ovimbundu have not yet learnt new terms from the Portuguese.

3. *Social Control and Social Structure in the Disputes*

I now return to the points mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It is hardly necessary to underline the decayed state of the traditional system of authority. Lusase had, at the time of the quarrel between Guilherme and Paulo, expressed his

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by other villagers. Nor does residence in a village or sub-chiefdom compel or limit participation in a dispute. Neither Ndjoleya nor any of his kin participated in the dispute between Paulo and Guilherme. Gregorio came from Menga to support his friend Sapapula against Lusase, acting as a private individual, and not as the chief of Menga intervening in the internal politics of a neighbouring sub-chiefdom.

The social institutions participated in exclusively by Ovimbundu (i.e. the system of kinship and marriage and the local organization) do not provide machinery for resolving disputes. Therefore, binding decisions must be obtained from a representative of the 'civilized' society, and much importance attaches to setting out the details of the case in such a way as to gain the interest of this representative. It would seem likely from this that all cases will pass into the hands of the *chefe*, and that those 'natives' who are most closely linked to the post—the chief and the government headmen—will therefore be the most influential people in indigenous society. In fact, as the disputes show, this does not happen. Cases are taken to other 'civilized' persons—the priest Antonio Pires and the *sei-disant assimilado* Justino—and Lusase, instead of making up on the bureaucratic roundabouts what he has lost on the traditional swings, falls heavily off both.

The willingness of villagers to submit their cases to Justino and the mission rather than to the post is a result of the much closer personal contact which exists with them, and their lack of direct punitive sanctions. Any case referred to the *chefe* is thought liable to produce uncertain consequences. It was because of this that the people of Gumba did not dare to complain to the post about Lusase's usurpation; for this reason, too, Guilherme, knowing the *chefe* trusted him no more than any other native, sought reconciliation before getting to the post. The chief and government headman neither enjoy official confidence nor control access to the post.

On the level of the total Angolan society the State is obviously more powerful than the Church. On the local level the chief and government headmen have more executive power[1]

[1] The capacity to give orders backed by force; but this only applies to orders received from the post.

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than the catechists and 'elders of the school'; yet the weakness of the agents of the post before a local opposition led, not by such traditional figures as Kafelo and Sapapula, but by the school functionaries, has been demonstrated. The post accepts intervention by the mission in supporting disputants, and the mission is ready to help not only its disputants but any native who has a strong case—that is, it has a generalized relation of patronage to all natives.[18] Hence, since in a serious dispute people look round for a 'civilized' patron, the mission is the one most likely to be appealed to, and these appeals usually go through its local agents.

While the symbiosis of two societies, one ruling, the other ruled, is a common feature of modern Africa, the extremely limited nature of the role delegated by the administration to the native authority, the 'patron-client' tie linking 'civilized' persons to the natives, and the opportunity given to patrons to intervene in cases before the *chefe*, seem to be distinctive features of Portuguese colonization.[19]

The third aspect of the social structure mentioned in the introductory section was the role in disputes of kinship ties. It has been earlier noted that Sapapula's supporters regarded him as a victim of a concerted alliance by Guilherme, Kapapelo, Lusase, and Ndonga. In fact Lusase had avoided getting involved in the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo, had supported Sapapula against Kapapelo, and had disclaimed responsibility for Ndonga's act. The present social structure is not one in which groups of kin habitually co-operate;[20] and it is possible that this belief in a coalition against Sapapula reflects memories of the old social structure.

Kinship ties between individuals seem neither to restrain them from quarrelling nor to be liable to permanent disruption as a result of quarrels. By August 1956 Kasosi was once again

[18] It is felt in administrative circles that the advancement of the African is mainly the responsibility of the missions.

[19] Anybody who knows the Portuguese well will acknowledge the importance given to personal influence (*pessoa*) and the lack of esteem for bureaucratic (in the Weberian sense) procedures.

[20] See Chapters IV and VII for details on the kinship score and on general aspects of kinship. The support which Sapapula received was not confined to his own kinship score—thus Gregorio who enthusiastically supported Sapapula was not even a kinsman.